

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fourth Year of Issue

May, 1944

## Canada and World Trade

*Premier Garson Replies to Mr. S. J. Farmer*



## Parties and Politics In Quebec

HERBERT F. QUINN



## Equatorial Conflict

BRUCE WOODSWORTH



## Lest We Forget Latin America

VIRGINIA IRVING

Vol. XXIV, No. 280

Toronto, Ontario, May, 1944

Twenty-five Cents

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## THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## O CANADA

The Corporation of North Vancouver refused to grant statutory holidays to ferry ticket sellers and ticket collectors, "because the men had never had them and it all costs money," George Vance, commissioner, told a Board of Arbitration. (Vancouver Province).

Imagine a sergeant with sweet kissable hands!—Even a sergeant has softer moments . . . especially for smooth, kissable hands. Of course there's another sergeant in my life . . . and I want him to be proud of my hands . . . that's why I use ——— Cream before and after my duties every day. . . . My romance won't go A.W.O.L. . . . because I keep ——— on "guard" duty 24 hours a day.

(Advertisement in Globe and Mail).

The controller's resolution asks, among other things, why five or six policemen could be detailed to the task of protecting Mr. McLean if there is a shortage of police officers; why he was given use of a police car; why he was permitted to tie up traffic on Ouellette Ave. (this occurred when he threw \$4,000 in bills out his hotel window), and whether or not a policeman who sang in his room was in uniform at the time.

(Canadian Press dispatch from Windsor, Ont., April 4, 1944).

Major T. L. Golden, officer commanding the Veteran Guard unit, said he had told escort squads that fraternization "was one thing I would not tolerate, and on which I would be most severe."

"I told them that Germans are the same people that bombed Coventry," he added, "I told the guards that any Canadian soldier who permitted himself to be kind to German prisoners lowered himself to the level of Germans." (Toronto Star).

How do the wives of Senators and members of the House of Commons put in their time in Ottawa? . . . As far as dress is concerned women wear just about the same clothes as we do at home, except that one seldom sees a suit in a restaurant at lunch time. There are no long dresses at dinner, which is unfortunate, unless it is a private dinner of older people, and (fortunately, one thinks) no short evening dresses, which make most women look definitely suburban.

(Evelyn Fenwick Farris, in the Vancouver News-Herald).

Guns Stilled at Front as World Worships . . . At Garigliano, on the Italian front, Allied and German troops—less than 400 yards apart—heard an Easter service. The Allied 5th Army's Protestant and Catholic services were broadcast to the Nazis, who, within sight of the Allies' field altar, held their fire. The Easter story was read in German and English. A chaplain's broadcast greeting to the enemy troops said, in part: "Should not all Christendom be jubilant on this day? . . . Christ died and rose again for all men . . . Therefore I wish you also, on behalf of my soldiers, a happy Easter."

(Canadian Press dispatch, April 9, 1944).

Advertisers Finding Ways Around WPTB Order Restricting Printing . . . Necessary but hampering wartime regulations have hobbled all business enterprise across the country. If the dire calamities that were prophesied as sure to follow the application of these restrictions have not materialized, it is because of the energy and enterprise of business executives, managers and retailers everywhere . . .

(Marketing, April 8, 1944).

On Sunday [April 2] in every penitentiary, reformatory and jail in Canada, Newfoundland and Bermuda, prisoners will meet for the great annual "Prison Sunday" services of the Salvation Army. And in every one of them one hymn is certain to be asked for, and will be sung with greater gusto and feeling than any other. It is "Unto the Hills Around Do I Lift Up My Longing Eyes."

(Toronto Daily Star).

The Story of the 6th Loan Slogan Insignia: The psychology underlying the insignia for the present loan is that of placing patriotism ahead of self-interest—the winged Victory represented by the "V" of the insignia is placed before the "I" representing the individual, thus dramatizing the slogan of the 6th Victory Loan—"Put Victory First."

(From Canadian Publishers War Finance Committee Press Release to Editors and Publishers).

BULL—In London, England, Friday, April 14, 1944, to Captain William Perkins Bull Jr. and Patricia, his wife, a son. This is the 16th grandchild of William Perkins Bull, K.C., LL.D., of which 14 are man children. (Birth notice—Toronto Daily Star, April 15, 1944)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to Mrs. D. Fraser, Osoyoos, B.C. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## As the Climax Nears

At this writing, the world is holding its breath in strained anticipation of the war's climax. Events, we must believe, are rushing to a crisis which we welcome and dread, because we would fain have it over and done with, yet realize the inevitable cost. Revolt of responsible war correspondents in Burma against the censorship there sharpens the consciousness that our destinies are being decided in a fog. Some of the secrecy is a military necessity; much of it covers political matters in whose decision, if democracy is not a sham, we, the people, should have a say. All of us should be making up our minds now on the issues involved in this war and its aftermath. And the instant that "military secrecy" ceases to be an excuse for cloaking political decisions, we, the people, should insist on full control of our destinies.

## The American Way

Mr. Wilkie's failure to educate his party seems to make it certain that the American presidential contest will be between Messrs. Roosevelt and Dewey. This does not mean that it will be a struggle between internationalism and isolationism, or between liberalism and conservatism. Liberalism is in retreat on all fronts in American domestic politics: the President has lost interest in the New Deal, labor is torn by bitter internal disputes, and all the recent elections have resulted in liberal defeats. In foreign affairs the President's European policy has been anything but liberal.

Everything points to the domination of the United States after the war by big business, no matter which party may win the elections next November. And "free enterprise" means an aggressively nationalistic policy in world affairs, of which the beginnings can already be seen in activities about oil in the Middle East and in current negotiations with Britain and Canada about civil aviation. With Mr. Dewey in the White House we may expect an extension of policies of this kind, a hard-boiled American imperialism. Nor with President Roosevelt returned for a fourth term can American liberals be very hopeful of seeing their country supporting the kind of world reconstruction which they would like. The President will be a tired man, wasting his remaining energies on a continuous struggle with a hostile Congress. And he will not have behind him that Popular Front which supplied the drive to the policies of his earlier years. The Democratic party has become its old self again, a combination of the reactionary Solid South and the corrupt big city machines in the North, and the President is trying to appease both elements. The farmers are alienated from him, and labor seems determined to ruin its own opportunities. The younger generation are away from home in factories or in the armed forces, and—so all the reporters tell us—have no clear ideas of what they want. Of course the President, who is the most skilled politician in the country, may bring about a reversal of all these trends before the summer is out. But at the moment it does not look as if the American Way for the next few years is going to be one which will bring much comfort to liberals at home or abroad.

## Outlook in Britain

News from England is so full every day of the same old speculation about the opening of the second front and the break-up of the coalition government that we almost feel like

doubting whether either event is going to happen this year. (But maybe the first event will have happened before these lines are in print.) The present British parliament was elected in 1935, at which time the "National" government, with 12,000,000 votes supporting it, won 431 seats, while Labor with over 8,000,000 votes won only 154 seats. There seems to be no doubt that the Right is even more grossly over-represented today than it was just after the election had taken place. Mr. Churchill's pettiness in insisting that the House should reverse itself on a matter of purely domestic policy which had nothing to do with the conduct of the war has clearly put a severe strain upon the cohesion of the government majority. But it is equally clear that the portion of the British population over which Mr. Churchill has established his ascendancy most completely is that small group who occupy the Labor front benches in the House of Commons. They will probably manage to stave off a Labor revolt for some time yet. And there is no likelihood that a Labor revolt, when at long last it does come, will be able to displace the Conservatives from power. The only thing that could do that would be an English Popular Front composed of Labor, Liberals and the new Common Wealth party. This does not make much difference in domestic policy, since Britain under any government is clearly headed for a mixed economy, with a close tie-up between government and business, and with a wide basis of social security. But in foreign affairs Conservative predominance means a balance-of-power policy, such as Messrs. Smuts and Halifax have been adumbrating, with lip service to the concept of the United Nations but with the same refusal to commit British fortunes to a genuine world Concert as marked Conservative policy towards the League of Nations in the 1920's and 1930's.

## Gutter Journalism

In the guise of a factual biographical sketch, one F. X. Chauvin, a dabbler in history, economics and journalism who is also vice-chairman of an Ontario local railway, presents an ingeniously distorted picture of the late J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., whom Canadian parliaments honored for his ability and integrity, and who was universally respected for his humanitarian efforts and his self-sacrificing devotion to principles. Using facts from Olive Ziegler's biography, the pamphleteer imparts to them a twisted and sinister interpretation, from which Mr. Woodsworth emerges as an embittered, self-seeking plotter, an enemy of good government and a traitor to Canada. Out of this gross caricature, the writer develops a conception of the CCF as the monstrous creation of one man, and attacks it with a deceptive farrago of pseudo history and political philosophy, ending in the magnificently meaningless statement: "If Canada is, as Socialists proclaim, in need of being saved, it will be saved, not by Socialists, but by Canadians."

In a recent review in *Saturday Night*, this pamphlet is stated to be "a lively sketch, written in classic English, and it is characteristically objective." The by-line initials L.V.G. are presumably those of "Lucy Van Gogh," commonly understood to be a pseudonym of B. K. Sandwell. If they are not, the review should be repudiated by the erstwhile president of the Civil Liberties Association and supposed friend of liberal causes. If, on the other hand, the review was



indeed written by the editor of *Saturday Night*, one wonders whether this is the notion of "objectivity" that Mr. Sandwell, recently appointed to the Board of the CBC, will carry into his work as one of the shapers of radio policy in Canada, or whether this appointment will re-awaken his sense of responsibility to the community. *Facilis descensus Averno*—it's easy to go to the dogs, as the ancients used to say.

## Religion in Schools

In proposing to introduce religious instruction in the schools of Ontario, the Drew government is reviving an issue upon which Protestants have found it difficult to agree ever since the Anglican Church lost its hold on state education in English-speaking Canada. The instruction will be standardized (dare we say regimented?). According to the Director of Education, "very little would be left to the individual teacher . . . both course and method of teaching should be clearly outlined in a text and manual." But "provision will be made to excuse from the religious instruction . . . the children of parents or guardians who object, on conscientious grounds, to having their children take this training."

No doubt it would be difficult, if one accepts the term religion as synonymous with dogma, to harmonize the views of Jewish, Chinese, Japanese, Russian and other Canadians of exotic faiths—to say nothing of our indigenous Atheists, Agnostics, Theosophists, Unitarians, Christian Scientists, and so on. Even to reach a consensus amongst Anglicans, United Churchers, Presbyterians, Baptists (liberal and fundamentalist), Quakers, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Holy Rollers, and the other non-Catholic Christian sects would be to consummate a reunion towards which Christendom has been vainly striving for centuries, and in comparison with which the brave beginning made in the United Church of Canada seems little enough.

But we can conceive of a view of religion which might make a considerable degree of unanimity possible. This would stress religion less as a body of dogmas than as a set of inspired principles which should govern our relations as fellow-beings; less as a preoccupation with the remote future than as a guide and inspiration for everyday living. This, indeed, was the aspect which the Founder of the Christian faith (as well as other great religious teachers) chiefly emphasized. If Colonel Drew could inject this spirit into the syllabus, he would have achieved something of fundamental importance, and would have earned the right to be called truly Progressive. And we think it might be done—even in the two periods a week (three less than are assigned to cadet training and health instruction) which it is proposed to devote to religion.

## For This We Fight

Failure of authorities to deal adequately with the housing shortage is now bearing bitter fruit. Coupled with the cupidity of owners who seek to take advantage of scarcity prices by selling formerly-rented houses, and the indifference of landlords (and their tenants) to whom children, even of men fighting for our freedom overseas, are only annoying encumbrances, this apathy has created a national scandal. Unlike the English cities, we have had no blitz, and housing materials could be spared without impeding our war effort. The blitz that is evicting soldiers' families is not of the Luftwaffe's making. It arises from negligence, stupidity and callousness. The soldier now fighting in Italy who learned that his wife and six children were being evicted with nowhere to go might be excused for exclaiming bitterly: "Democracy—hell!"

## Congratulations To Old Friends

A. J. M. Smith, an old friend and a contributor to *The Canadian Forum*, has, with "News of the Phoenix," won the Governor-General's award for the best volume of poetry published within the last twelve months. We are glad to add our congratulations to the many that Professor Smith must have already received, and express our profound gratitude to the judges for recognizing in the poet's work a breadth of imagination and a disciplined but experimental technique that hitherto have been ignored in the official assessment of Canadian poetry. E. K. Brown and John D. Robins, who respectively won the awards in non-fiction and in creative non-fiction, are occasional contributors to *The Canadian Forum*, and we therefore take an added pleasure in assuring them also of our unequivocal agreement with the decisions in their favor. Thomas H. Raddall, who is less well known to us, won the fiction award with a volume of short stories.

## Our So-called Free Press

In Toronto there recently met in annual conference two important bodies—the Canadian Daily Newspapers Association and The Canadian Press. One is the official publisher's organization, the other an agency formed by the same publishers to collect and distribute to its members domestic and foreign news. Together they represent the Power of the Press in Canada. But, as usual, the public heard little about their deliberations, beyond the names of the new officers and a little judicious self-praise from the speeches.

Yet the Canadian public has a vital interest in the operation of this monopoly. It plays an important part in conveying information and shaping opinion. What is it doing to safeguard newspaper readers against false or misleading news—and headlines? What is it doing to improve news services (advertising volume and revenues are at a new high in Canada)? Is it checking up on unscrupulous advertisers? Does it discipline its own members for unethical conduct? What action, for instance, does it contemplate against one of its leading members, the *Montreal Star*, a recent and flagrant offender?

Presumably our publishers subscribe to Rule No. (3)B of the Canons of Journalism laid down by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which reads: "Partisanship in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth does violence to the best spirit of American journalism; in the news columns it is subversive of a fundamental principle of the profession." Yet the *Montreal Star* excludes from its news columns all favorable mention of one of Canada's political parties, the CCF, refuses to report its meetings or print any but the most trivial news about it supplied by wire news services, and has rejected its proffered advertisements. In its editorial columns it has descended to the basest misrepresentation and vilification of that party, and has declined to publish letters correcting mis-statements. The offense is the graver because the publisher in this instance—J. W. McConnell, a multi-millionaire industrialist and financier—controls, through ownership of the *Herald* and the *Standard* as well as the *Star*, the dissemination of news in English in the Montreal area between the hours of 9.30 a.m. and 9.30 p.m. daily. Other Canadian newspapers, most of them quite as violently opposed to the CCF, at least refrain from this kind of vicious partisanship in their news columns. We should like to know what his fellow-members of the Fourth Estate propose to do about this publisher who defies all the ethics of journalism. Not much, we suspect; which is a sad commentary on the character of our "free" press.



## Democracy At Work

► CCF CONVENTIONS are always interesting to watch, and the twelfth provincial convention of the Ontario CCF was no exception. It is heartening to see delegates come together from all parts of the province, earnestly determined to get through as much work as possible. From Thursday morning until Saturday afternoon, the convention was in continuous session with just enough time off to eat and sleep, and very few delegates were absent at any time. Truly, we felt, CCF policies are made by the convention.

What an agenda! A complete new constitution, 117 resolutions, a plan for socialized medicine, and a dozen reports from various committees, not to mention financial statements and election of officers and council. Of all this only approximately twenty resolutions were not dealt with and referred to the incoming council. Yet discussion was not cut off abruptly, and never before a large majority had called for the vote. To take 487 delegates through that amount of business is not easy; besides, this convention obviously had a mind of its own, for a number of executive recommendations were amended or rejected outright, and proposals from local units carried, sometimes over the opposition of some of the council members.

How can all this be done? Fairly full agendas are circulated beforehand to all local units, and CCF members as a whole seem agreed on fundamentals, differences being mostly on matters of detail and method. Add to this a determination to get on with the work ahead, which seemed to make all present feel that the business in hand was more important than their own oratory, and stringent restrictions on the length of speeches impartially applied. Extremely able and friendly chairmanship also contributed; the chairmen seemed to seek to interpret the wishes of the floor, rather than enforce their own.

Important as the policies here determined were, the spirit of the convention seemed to us even more impressive, and the vitality of the party certainly lies in that hard common sense which enabled 487 men and women from all walks of life to do a great job of working and thinking together for three days on end.

The Ontario Legislature had adjourned at 3.30 a.m. that very Thursday morning. It was the first convention that could hear a report on the work of its 34 M.P.P.'s. E. B. Jolliffe, as provincial leader, gave that report and others contributed to the discussion. He gave an account of a job well done—it is an open secret that the effective work of the CCF opposition as a group has been a nasty shock to the Drew government—and a certain amount of complacency might have been expected. There was little. References to achievements were moderate in tone, and the keynote of the report was quite different; it looked ahead. "We have not yet begun to organize this province," said Jolliffe. And they agreed with him and enthusiastically re-elected him as political leader.

President Sam Lawrence, now mayor of Hamilton and the lone CCF forerunner in the 1934-7 legislature, did not stand for re-election, and the unanimous choice fell on George Grube, one of Canada's few active professor-politicians. Vice-Presidents are Andrew Brewin and George Lockhart, the latter a farmer M.P.P. for Rainy River.

The dominant impression left with observers is that the CCF fully knows that there are hard struggles ahead, and is preparing to meet them; also that it is solving one difficult modern problem: how to combine able leadership with real democracy.

## Canada and World Trade

Stuart Garson

(We are glad to publish the following presentation, by Premier Garson of Manitoba, of his attitude towards the important question of Canada's external trade, in reply to an article by Mr. S. J. Farmer, leader of the CCF Opposition in the Manitoba Legislature, which appeared in our February issue. Mr. Farmer's remarks in rebuttal will be found at the end of this letter.—The Editors.)

► YOUR PUBLICATION in your issue of February, 1944, of an article by Mr. S. J. Farmer in my opinion misrepresents the reports of two commissions appointed by the Manitoba Government and my own viewpoint. But for my preoccupation with the work of the Manitoba legislative session I should have written you this letter of protest before now.

In his said article Mr. Farmer quotes the *Winnipeg Free Press* as saying: "The King Government has declared in favor of a full employment policy at home in terms of housing, public works and social security. But reliance is placed overwhelmingly on international trade as the long term solution to our problem. The CCF reverses this emphasis." Mr. Farmer then says, "The *Free Press* for once is right about the CCF."

Then Mr. Farmer asserts that his own view, which he ascribes also to the CCF, is that domestic prosperity in Canada is the cause and Canadian export trade the effect, instead of vice versa. Mr. Farmer goes on further to say: "What is highly interesting to us in Manitoba is that two commissions on postwar problems set up by the Manitoba Government have issued reports which in the main support the CCF position." This last statement, as I shall show, is incorrect.

To begin with, I would have thought that since Canada is concerned first with Canadians, the prime objective of Canadian policy should be domestic prosperity for Canadians. As regards Canadian domestic prosperity and Canadian international trade, it is not, as Mr. Farmer would imply, a question of which is the means and which the end. Surely we can agree that domestic prosperity is itself the end, and not the means to an end.

As to how this end of Canadian domestic prosperity can be attained my own view can be shortly stated. Canada has a huge investment in farms, grain elevators, grain carrying ships, terminal elevators, sawmills, pulp and paper plants, mines, smelters, and fisheries, all now engaged in producing heavily for export. The preliminary figures from the census of 1941 show that out of 4.2 million people gainfully employed, 14 years of age and over in Canada, 1.3 millions are engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing, trapping and mining. The relative magnitude of this number is indicated by comparing it with the 700,000 engaged in manufacturing of all kinds. This 700,000 figure includes those engaged in the processing of primary products and in the production of manufactured goods and implements for farmers, forestry workers, fishermen, trappers and miners. A very large part of the production of all of these primary industries goes into export, for example, in the prewar years about 80 per cent. of Canadian wheat, 90 per cent. of Canadian newsprint and 95 per cent. of Canadian non-ferrous metals. At least 30 per cent. of our national income is derived directly from foreign trade. Therefore it would be difficult for Canadians to

achieve the prime objective of domestic prosperity, unless a resumption of international trade provides us with a market for these huge exportable surpluses. Governor Towers of the Bank of Canada, in his 1944 report, states that it would seem likely that at least 1,500,000 more persons than are now so employed will be available for employment in civilian jobs after the war. If in addition to providing employment for them, we must as a result of the loss of export markets, provide employment for those now engaged in producing and in processing primary products for export (the figure being a number which will not fall far short of 1,300,000 if it does not exceed that) our difficult task of maintaining full employment in Canada will be made infinitely more difficult.

If he will forgive me for saying so, Mr. Farmer misinterprets the selections from "The Midcontinent and the Peace" which he quotes to support his contentions. The opening chapter of that report dealing with the dependence of international trade upon domestic prosperity refers only to United States statistics and to the combined influence of Canada and the United States. Canada is included as a potential associate of the United States along the lines developed in the whole of this study. The point which the authors make in this opening chapter is that the heavy draft upon the world for imports made by a large, highly industrialized country like the United States constitutes a large part of total international trade; and that therefore the difference between the United States having a high degree of domestic activity and a low degree, is in all likelihood the difference between success and failure of the efforts to re-establish international trade after the war. The point is well put in the first paragraph of that chapter.

"After the war, when the civilian populations of Canada and the United States no longer 'have to do without', a high rate of industrial production at home can and will create a high demand for the raw materials from the rest of the world. Our high demand is the basis of much of their production. Correspondingly, if our industrial activity is not maintained at a high level, goods will not be taken from abroad and the countries formerly furnishing those goods—especially the one-commodity countries—will suffer. In other words a highly active, well-diversified *internal* economy, **WHOSE WEIGHT IN THE WORLD IS HEAVY**, places upon the rest of the world in turn a heavy draft for goods, and thus it is that the *domestic* economic policies of Canada and the United States can have international effects of the utmost importance. This would not be true, of course, in the case of small or 'single-crop' countries." The capitals are mine.

Note that Mr. Farmer is talking about Canada only, whereas this quotation refers to Canada *and the United States*. Delete from this quotation the references to Canada and it still constitutes a correct statement. Delete from the quotation the references to the United States and it does not constitute a correct statement. Why? Simply because the weight of Canada in the world as an importer of raw materials is *not heavy*.

Canada's position in this respect is totally dissimilar from that of the United States. In a highly industrialized country like the United States, depending upon imported raw materials for its industries, there is bound to be a close dependence of imports on industrial activity at home. It will be noted in the table on page 7 of "The Midcontinent and the Peace" that the percentage decline in the value of raw material imports into the United States is much greater than the percentage decline in the value of finished products. Variations in the level of industrial activity cause tremendous variations in the value of imports into that country. This is due in part to the fact that such a large percentage of United

States' imports consist of raw materials. For example, in 1926, 53 per cent. of the value of imports into the United States consisted of raw materials; in 1929, 47 per cent.; in 1932, 45 per cent., and in 1938, 43 per cent. In Canada, on the other hand, with a dissimilar economy, in 1929 the value of raw material imports was 23 per cent.; in 1932, 25.2 per cent.; in 1938, 27.8 per cent, and in 1940, 25 per cent.

The second reason why a country with a large percentage of raw material imports finds its foreign trade varying widely with variations in its own domestic industrial activity is that raw material prices fluctuate more violently as a rule than do the prices of manufactured goods.

The point in this which Mr. Farmer I think has missed is that the dependence of the import trade of a country upon the level of domestic prosperity is determined by the character of the economy. In a country like the United States which is highly industrialized and uses large amounts of imported raw materials the value of such imports will vary closely with the level of economic activity at home. But in a country like Canada which is highly dependent upon the production of surplus raw materials, the level of economic activity at home is determined very largely by the willingness and ability of other countries to buy Canadian raw materials. The ability of a country to diversify its economic activities is limited by the variety and quality of its economic resources. Those countries like Canada which have a few but nevertheless highly productive resources tend to have highly specialized economies. Those with a great variety of productive resources, such as the United States and Russia, tend to become more diversified. The whole economic history of Canada illustrates the extreme economic dependence of the country upon the production of a limited number of highly efficient resources. This is not for a moment to deny that the home market is important or that it will grow in the future; but the hard fact is that at the present time the Canadian economy depends to a major degree upon the sale abroad of large exportable surpluses of a few products. It is for this reason that purely domestic policies can be more effective in maintaining a high standard of living in the United States than in Canada. In the United States international trade can be stimulated greatly by domestic prosperity, but in Canada domestic prosperity is still largely dependent upon international trade. The prosperity of the Canadian people is determined in large measure by the volume of purchasing power, put by sales for export into the hands of producers in the export industries. The depression of the 1930's is cogent proof of this.

Mr. Farmer, in addition to taking his own selections from their context and misinterpreting them, does not give due emphasis to other sections of the Report.

Section III, for example, which develops a proposal for the reorganization of western European agriculture, is a specific argument for greater freedom of trade in order to improve the position of Canadian and American farmers.

Mr. Farmer's treatment of Section IV which proposes a re-arrangement of the Canadian and American automobile industries is a rather curious one. Certainly it is quite true that this proposal is advanced as a means of increasing industrial employment in Canada and the United States and of expanding the market for our agricultural products. But the whole proposal is contingent upon the establishment of free trade between Canada and the United States, at least in those industries. Moreover, this proposal is advanced as an example of a technique of adjustment which might be applied to other industries as well. The point is that the extension of the area of free trade between the two countries is basic to achieving the re-organization suggested for the automobile industry.



Mr. Farmer's references to the Report on Rural Electrification also miss the point. No one pretends to claim that increased diversification is not both possible and profitable to Manitoba. But this does not alter the fact that, taking the Prairie Provinces as a whole, because of the conditions of climate and soil, there are definite limits to diversification. Large numbers of people will continue to be dependent on export markets for their prosperity. Note the following sentence from the paragraph which Mr. Farmer has quoted from the Report: "The modern view, however, is that international trade and international relations themselves are largely a reflection of domestic activities of a few large nations." Note the phrase "of a few large nations." Again the point is that the domestic activity in a country like the United States can strongly affect its own imports and thus the volume of world exports and particularly those of raw material producing countries. But for reasons above stated I suggest that Canada in this regard cannot be classed with the United States.

Mr. Farmer has been good enough to bracket my name with that of Prime Minister King, Mr. John Bracken and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, in holding views in opposition to those which he holds himself and which he ascribes to the CCF. I must thank him for the compliment that he has paid me. He need not have stopped with this list of four. He might have gone further and included in our group other persons and other journals whose competence and disinterestedness neither he nor anyone in his party could question.

In the *London Economist* of October 30th, 1943, there is an article upon this report "The Midcontinent and the Peace" in which the interpretation placed upon it is quite different from that of Mr. Farmer.

Mr. Graham Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada, in his Annual Report of February, 1944, states:

"One of the many difficult problems to be faced in this connection concerns the probable future of international trade. Should this country count on maintaining or expanding production in specialized lines where she has a competitive advantage, with a view to increasing her exports above the pre-war level? This will only be possible in the long run if Canada and other countries are willing to import more in lines where they are relatively less efficient. Or should Canada orient her economy further towards self-sufficiency, deliberately building up high-cost industries which depend for their existence on some form of subsidy from the community at large?"

"I believe this country has a greater interest than almost any other in following the first course if it is in fact open to her. Internal adjustments will be required under either alternative but they would undoubtedly be less fundamental and painful under the first. Moreover, the specialized character of Canada's resources, and her relatively small internal market, severely restrict the standard of living which she can achieve without the benefit of a large export and import trade. Her choice will, however, necessarily depend on whether other countries, too, are willing to give international trade a chance."

With this terse and cogent statement I would like to couple a quotation from an excellent article entitled "Postwar Boom or Collapse" by Dr. Sumner H. Slichter, one of the leading American economists, in the Fall 1942 number of the *Harvard Business Review*.

"Much is said these days about the necessity for international collaboration. There is little point to various proposed kinds of co-operation—international police force, World Court, Association of Nations—unless international economic policies are directed toward broadening rather than narrowing the opportunity for trade between nations. That is the acid test of a well-grounded and practical internationalism—

willingness to support steady reduction in barriers to trade. The United States is the key log in the log jam of restrictions. It offers by far the largest potential market for goods. It will be the only large source of credit after the war. If the United States offers other countries a better and better market for their goods, it will force general reductions in tariffs and start an upward spiral in international trade which will mean a higher standard of living and better political relations throughout the world. The great shortages of goods of all kinds which will exist after the war will give the most favorable political opportunity in a century to break down barriers to international trade."

If Mr. Farmer is interested in other authorities which oppose his views, he might refer to Volume I of the *Sirois Report*, at page 143 and again at page 178.

That Prime Minister King, Mr. John Bracken, Mr. Graham Towers, Dr. Sumner Slichter, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *London Economist* and the *Sirois Report* are wrong and that Mr. Farmer and the CCF are right is improbable.

Finally the two economists who prepared the report "The Midcontinent and the Peace" have just issued their second joint report, "The Interests of Western Canadian Agriculture in The Peace Settlements." This report which deals with what Mr. Farmer has been discussing, viz. Canada, makes it quite clear that Mr. Farmer's interpretation of "The Midcontinent and the Peace" cannot be right because intelligent men who hold the views set forth in this second report could not also hold the views which Mr. Farmer says are set forth in their first report.

In the course of his discussion, Mr. Farmer took occasion to attribute to me statements to the effect that the farmer's costs of production should be reduced by reduction of wages for the workers in industry. A much more accurate statement of my viewpoint in this regard is contained in the following quotation from my Budget Speech of last year.

"In an exporting area like Western Canada, of a tariff-protected country like Canada, the tendency is for secondary industry and commerce to pass on to the fullest extent that they can increases in taxes, wages or other costs which they have to meet. They pass on these increases in their costs, in the form of an increase in the price of the goods or services which they are selling. The accumulation all along the lines of these increases comes to rest finally upon the primary producer in the form of a considerable increase in the cost of the goods and services which he has to buy. The increases in the price of these goods and services represent a part of the primary producer's own costs of production. He, however, selling in a highly competitive world export market, cannot pass on these increases in his costs of production. As a result, his margin of profit is narrowed or in times of depression may even be wiped out altogether. In either case, the only way in which he can keep going is by buying less of what he needs. The result is less sales of manufactured goods, less orders for factories, less freight for railroads, and less employment for industrial workers."

The point here is simply that if industrialists want to keep their factories working, and if industrial workers want to keep their jobs, they together should see that the price of their products is kept down to the point where the primary producer can afford to buy their production at full employment.

In discussing the relationship between Canadian domestic prosperity and international trade recently in the Manitoba Legislature, Mr. Farmer made the statement that if we had full employment in this country, the Canadian market would absorb all of the agricultural products of Canada, with the exception of wheat. To this idea I would suggest that Mr. Farmer would find illuminating the export statistics upon pork, cheese, apples, barley and cattle. But if Mr. Farmer



be correct, that in spite of our large agricultural resources and our small population, the only agricultural product of which we will have an exportable surplus is wheat in the kind of domestic prosperity and full employment that he visualizes for Canada, then if all the other nations of the world adopt the same policy that he has in mind for Canada, Heaven help the diets of the people of the highly industrialized nations of Western Europe and Heaven help some of the major objectives of the Hot Springs food conference.

(Mr. S. J. Farmer writes: Mr. Garson has attempted to give a twist to my argument which no unprejudiced person could possibly read into the article. I nowhere intimated that Canadian domestic prosperity was merely a means to an end. "Surely" writes Mr. Garson, "we can agree that domestic prosperity is itself the end." To which I can only reply—what else did he think I was talking about?

Incidentally, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, in editorially criticising the same article, went Premier Garson one better and accused me of advocating Protection! What can you do with people like that?

What is important for us to keep in mind is that a Canadian government can control domestic economic policy, whereas our prospects of trading with other countries depend upon the willingness and ability of those countries to trade with us.

As for Premier Garson's interpretation of the report "The Midcontinent and the Peace" one is left to wonder what value such a report can be to Canadians if its findings only apply (1) to the United States and Canada combined or (2) to the United States alone. Perhaps the weight of Canada in the world as an importer is not heavy, as Mr. Garson says, but that is not to say that with proper domestic policies it could not become much heavier than it is; nor does it relieve the international-trade-first school from showing how we are to sell our surpluses without taking in imports of some kind in exchange.)

## Parties and Politics in Quebec

*Herbert F. Quinn*

► THE QUEBEC POLITICAL SCENE at the present time presents a picture of that political ferment and activity which always precedes an election. During the past few months, although federal issues have not been neglected, interest has been focussed mainly on provincial politics as conviction continues to grow that the Godbout government will go to the polls by June. The organization of all parties is proceeding at a feverish pace, meetings are being held throughout the province, and political speeches are flooding the air waves.

The most interesting feature of the current situation is the number of parties and factions vying with each other for electoral support. There are the Liberals, the CCF, the Bloc Populaire, the Labor Progressives, Union Nationale, Progressive Conservatives, the Canadian Party, the Union des Electeurs, and the Cardinists (followers of Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, former Minister of Public Works). Not all of these parties, however, need be seriously considered in the present political situation. The so-called Canadian Party still remains a one-man party of Mr. Liguori Lacombe, M.P., for Laval-Two Mountains; the Union des Electeurs, which is the Quebec version of the Social Credit movement, is rela-

tively unimportant, and the Cardinists have not been particularly active as a distinct group nor made clear their political intentions, although it is rumored that Mr. Cardin is active in the launching of a new party which will be called L'Union des Travailleurs.

The surest sign that elections are in the offing is the increased tempo of activities in Liberal circles. Meetings are being held almost nightly at the Reform Club in Montreal, there is renewed activity among the women and youth sections of the party, the party organization is being strengthened and J. A. Lesage, Quebec District organizer, has been made senator, together with other party stalwarts including Hon. T. D. Bouchard, Minister of Roads. This means that Mr. Godbout will face the electorate with a reformed cabinet.

The most important move, however, on the part of the Godbout Government undoubtedly has been the passing of Bill No. 17, which provides for the expropriation of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power and Beauharnois Power companies, and the setting up of a provincial power commission along the lines of Ontario Hydro. In the face of its growing unpopularity it now appears that the government will use the power expropriation as one of the main issues in the coming election, no doubt in the hope of "cashing in" on the prevailing sentiment in the province against "les trusts."

To understand the reasons for the Liberal Party's sudden conversion to the principle of state ownership of electricity after four years of office it is necessary to give some consideration to the basic factors, political and economic, underlying the political situation in this province, and the reasons for the growth of the Bloc Populaire to a point where it has become a major political force. There are two basic factors influencing Quebec politics today—the war issue and the province-wide dissatisfaction with prevailing economic conditions. The attitude of the French-Canadian towards the war needs no amplification. That Quebec does not see this war in the same light as the rest of Canada was emphasized by the resounding "No" with which the province answered the Federal Government's proposal to inaugurate conscription of manpower for service overseas. The economic unrest, which has expressed itself in an epidemic of strikes throughout the province, arises out of the resentment of the French-Canadian towards his inferior economic position compared with the workers of the rest of Canada, and the fact that he has become increasingly aware that ownership of all the major industries of the province is in the hands of English-Canadians. It is these two factors that are primarily responsible for the appearance and growth of the Bloc. It is therefore important to know something of the origin and program of this party.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien was founded in the Fall of 1942 and was born of the conscription plebiscite of that year, most of its leaders being active in La Ligue Pour La Defense du Canada formed to campaign for a "No" vote. Although the Bloc as a distinct party is a new arrival to Quebec politics nevertheless it is the present-day expression of what has always been a fundamental force in Quebec politics—the Nationalist tradition. These Nationalist movements in Quebec politics appear to rise up whenever there is a strong cleavage of opinion between English and French-Canadian on any matter of national policy. The Bloc Populaire is the logical successor to the Nationalist movement of Henri Bourassa arising out of Canada's participation in the Boer War and the World War of 1914-18.

The Bloc was formed out of the union of three main groups; there was the anti-war block of the Federal Liberal Party whose leader was M. Maxime Raymond, M.P. for Beauharnois; the Action Liberale Nationale Party of M. Paul Gouin which had participated in the provincial election

of 1939 on a nationalistic, anti-trust program; and lastly a group of younger "doctrinaire Nationalists" who had hitherto taken little active part in politics, and whose leader appears to be Andre Laurendeau, former editor of the nationalist monthly, *L'Action Nationale*. M. Laurendeau was appointed provincial leader of the party at its first general convention in February last.

The main points in the program of the Bloc as outlined by the National Leader, M. Maxime Raymond (radio addresses, Oct. 10, 17, 24, 1943, over CKAC) are maintenance of the autonomy and rights of the province under the B.N.A. Act, "real equality" of English and French Canadians throughout Canada, elimination of appeals to the Privy Council, the "real independence" of Canada in its relations with England, and a general policy of "Canada First" in international affairs. In the economic program of the Bloc M. Raymond stresses the necessity of "maintaining and in certain cases restoring private initiative" by breaking the power of the trusts over the economic life of the province, mainly through government regulation and encouragement of the co-operative movement. Although state ownership is considered the exception, the party program nevertheless calls for the nationalization of those trusts such as electricity, gas and telephone, which are of such a nature that they cannot be controlled in any other way. Other planks in the Bloc program are family allowances, rural electrification, elimination of slums, the right of workers to join unions of their own choice, and compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. It should be noted that Bloc Populaire speakers in their denunciation of the trusts seldom fail to point out that they are largely owned by English-Canadians.

In its attacks on the Liberals the Bloc makes little distinction between the federal and provincial wings of the party, considering the Godbout government completely subservient to Ottawa, and equally responsible for the policy of the King government in favor of an "all-out" war effort, conscription, and billion dollar gifts to England. In regard to the Union Nationale, the Bloc orators have been just as vigorous in their denunciation of that party's domination by the trusts as they have been in the case of the Liberals.

The Union Nationale, by no means a negligible force in Quebec politics, is the official opposition in the Legislative Assembly. Like the Bloc Populaire this party has been making much of the Liberals' alleged surrender of the autonomy of the province to the federal authority (the term "autonomy" is often used in Quebec politics but is seldom defined). During the present session Party Leader Maurice Duplessis also claimed that the Ottawa government had plans to open wide the doors to immigration after the war and settle 100,000 Jewish refugees on farms in Quebec. Despite official denials from the Federal Government and prominent Jewish leaders the Union Nationale leader maintained his stand. In regard to the power issue, although Mr. Duplessis has declared on several occasions that he is no particular friend of the trusts, nevertheless the party vigorously opposed Bill No. 17 in the Legislative Assembly, characterizing it as unfair to the citizens of Montreal and the small shareholders, and claiming that the whole power expropriation bill was a "giant political bluff" on the part of the government. That there might be more to the government's move than meets the eye would seem to be indicated by Mr. Godbout's admission that the Montreal Power had offered to sell out to the government three years ago.

An important development from the viewpoint of the Union Nationale was the statement of John Bracken in Quebec City on February 28 that the Progressive Conservatives, who are busily organizing here, are limiting their activi-

ties to Federal politics. This was interpreted by most political observers as a gesture to Mr. Duplessis that the provincial field will be left to Union Nationale. Although both the Union Nationale and the Progressive Conservatives vigorously deny any official alliance, nevertheless it was admitted in an interview by M. Paul Lafontaine, Montreal organizer of the latter party, that "the Union Nationale membership is composed 80% of Conservatives in the Federal field." (Montreal Gazette, August 19, 1943).

In regard to the CCF there is no doubt that the party is gaining in strength and influence in this province, particularly among labor union membership. In November last the first CCF Club was opened in Quebec City and other clubs are being organized by Jacques Casgrain, recently appointed Provincial Organizer. The first edition of the official French language organ of the party, *Le Canada Nouveau*, appeared on the newsstands a short while ago. CCF leaders have been particularly active in denunciation of recent labor legislation, known as Bills 2 and 3, enacted by the Godbout government. These bills prohibit the right to strike of employees of public services, forbid policemen's associations from affiliating with outside unions, and make it obligatory for a labor union to have 60% of the employees enrolled in its membership to be recognized for purposes of collective bargaining. In its criticism of these bills the CCF has the support of the majority of the labor unions in the province.

It is not clear as yet to what extent the CCF will contest the coming provincial election. However, supporters of that party in other provinces will save themselves from considerable disillusionment and disappointment if they understand in advance that the CCF is not likely to elect any large number of candidates. Aside from the problem of organization and financing of candidates, the party at the present time suffers the disadvantage in this province of being considered as conscriptionist and "all-out" war as the Liberal party. This situation seems likely to last as long as the war is on. In the only test of public opinion in the last year or so, the Cartier and Stanstead Federal by-elections, August 9 last, the French-Canadian vote went overwhelmingly to the Bloc Populaire.

Although the Labor Progressive party cannot be considered a major party in this province, nevertheless its activities which are largely confined to the Island of Montreal deserve some attention. Aside from denunciation of Bills 2 and 3 the party leaders have been mainly active in La Ligue des Locataires de Montreal (Montreal Tenants Association) which is waging a strong campaign against the failure of the Liberals at both Ottawa and Quebec to relieve the serious housing shortage. From recent articles and editorials in the party's French language weekly, *La Victoire*, it is apparent that in the coming elections the Labor Progressives will endeavor at all costs to defeat the candidates of Union Nationale and Bloc Populaire whose leaders have been particularly strong in their denunciation of Communism. The L.P.P. strategy will be to swing their support to the CCF or Liberal candidates in any constituency where it is not possible or practical to put up their own candidate.

To attempt to predict the outcome of the forthcoming election and say which particular party will emerge as the new government of the province would be extremely foolhardy due to the number of parties bidding for popular support and the confusion of issues involved. It does appear, however, that the election will be mainly a struggle between the Liberals, the Union Nationale and the Bloc.

The Liberals are well aware that sentiment generally in the province is running against the party and are reconciled to losing a certain number of seats. Nevertheless they are

hopeful that with the Nationalist, anti-war, anti-conscription vote split between the Bloc and the Union Nationale, they will stand a fair chance of winning out in this three-way contest.

In regard to the Bloc Populaire, although there appears little doubt of its importance in Quebec politics, there are two factors which may adversely affect its fortunes in the coming election. One is the fact that it may not have time to perfect its organization before the election is called, and the other is the split in the party climaxed by the resignation in February last of Paul Gouin, former leader of Action Libérale Nationale, Dr. Philippe Hamel of Quebec City, and Rene Chalout, M.L.A., Lotbiniere, constituting the left wing of the party. The main cause of the defection of the Gouin group appears to be the important part played in party circles by Edouard Lacroix, wealthy lumberman and M.P. for Beauce. In statements made by Gouin, Chalout and others it was said that Lacroix had contributed \$1,000 to the party funds in each one of the thirty-five electoral districts organized from Quebec City and as a consequence had acquired virtual control over party activities in those districts. It was claimed that it was useless to talk of social reforms and breaking the power of the trusts as long as Lacroix and others had such power and influence in the party. In a radio address over CKAC on March 5, Mr. Gouin further stated that the Bloc had no intention of making a real fight against the Union Nationale in the provincial elections. Answering these accusations, Mr. Maxime Raymond said that the Bloc program would be carried through in its entirety and that the dispute with the Gouin group was due to a conflict of "personalities" not principles.

It is difficult to know just what has been the effect of the split in the Bloc, although it does seem likely that the cleavage has weakened the party somewhat. Nor is it clear as to what the plans of the newly formed "Gouin-Chalout-Hamel Committee" are, or whether they intend to form a new party to add further confusion to the political struggle in the province.

As to the other major party in Quebec politics, the Union Nationale, it is also difficult to foresee what support it is likely to obtain from the electorate. However, the party appears to be well financed, and its leader, M. Maurice Duplessis, is an extremely astute politician. One thing that all observers are agreed on is that the Union Nationale is slowly gaining strength and has largely recovered from its smashing defeat of October, 1939, at the hands of the Godbout Liberals.

A further complicating factor in an already confused situation is the fact that for the first time in the history of the province women will vote in a provincial election, the present government having instituted female suffrage shortly after coming to power in 1939. How the women will vote is anyone's guess. Certain it is that during the next few months the people of Canada would do well to watch closely developments in this province, which are bound to have repercussions in the rest of the country.

### *Motif*

Not homes now behind a door,  
Only boxes an elevator binds  
Into large, neat files that soar  
In mediocrity, and house tabloid minds.

Rita Adams.

## Lest We Forget Latin America

*Virginia Irving*

### PART I

► WHILE Lord Halifax has started talk about intra-Empire collaboration humming over the local wires, why not bring in a note of intra-hemisphere collaboration? The role of Canada towards the United Kingdom is a point which has been discussed long before this war ever started, and will be continued long after it is finished by leaders on both sides of the pond; but few Canadians have ventured to consider actively Canada's role at home here in the Western Hemisphere.

Latin American visitors to Canada have been impressed with the growing importance of our country, and have frequently asked: "Why doesn't Canada join the Pan-American Union?" In Montreal recently, Ambassador McCarthy was heard to say that Canada will not press for an invitation, but on the other hand, will not turn a deaf ear should a proposal be forthcoming.

Canadians may question their responsibility in hemispheric affairs; yet if the war has had other disastrous results for us, at least it has brought Canada into the fight for world recognition. Nevertheless, the Gallup Poll has shown that we are desperately ignorant about our neighbors and the conditions prevailing upon this American continent of ours. The time is ripe for Canadians to know more about Latin America.

It is to our own advantage, and it will equally help our friends, if we strengthen old and develop new cultural, economic, and political ties with the Latin-American nations. Perhaps the best way to become acquainted with them is to make a brief individual study of each country. So let's start with Mexico, our nearest neighbor, and then proceed overland to Cape Horn.

### MEXICO

This republic tops the list of countries with whom we should have good relations because of her geographical proximity, her size (she is the third country in population and the fifth in area on the American continent), and her traditional concern for the underdog. Mexican democracy may not be perfect, but the sincerity of the majority of Mexicans makes up for the failings of some of their leaders. Mexico has been able to produce great men, like the Aztec emperor Cuauhtemoc, the Spanish viceroy Revillagigedo, the reformer and patriot Benito Juarez, and the past president Lazaro Cardenas, who is still living. There is, therefore, much to study in Mexican history, perhaps more than in the history of any other American nation.

The Mexican Revolution was fought over the concentration of agricultural wealth in the hands of a few proprietors, and of industrial and commercial wealth in the hands of foreigners. It broke out in 1910, when the long "reign" of Porfirio Diaz was coming to an end through the advanced age of the 40-year president. "Porfirism" is a term of the Mexican political vocabulary meaning a long incumbency in office with no provision for the future welfare of the people.

German and Spanish influence has been strong in certain commercial circles, but the greater part of Mexican reaction is strikingly similar to that in Quebec, even to organization, membership, and terminology. It is divided into two chief



groups: the Synarchists in the rural parts, especially the Western states; and the National Union, which has many of the trappings of Quebec nationalism, and finds its adherents among the same type of city folk.

The party in power is the PRM (the Party of the Mexican Revolution), and Manuel Avila Camacho is president. President Avila Camacho is not a very colorful man, but he is sincerely trying to reconcile all elements, and brings a spirit of moderation into Mexican national life. Ex-president Cardenas, who is the present Minister of National Defense (Mexican presidents cannot serve a second term), is perhaps one of the sincerest statesmen living today, and his land, industrial, and petroleum reforms are famous. Vicente Lombardo Toledano is his counterpart in the labor unions, and he has been attacked much on the charge that he is a communist. He led a revolt against Luis G. Morones' grandiose "company union," the CROM (the Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor), and founded the rival CTM (the Mexican Confederation of Labor), which now is the strongest labor federation of any in Latin America apart from the CTAL (the Latin American Confederation of Labor) which embraces the whole area, and of which Lombardo is president.

Mexico can help us because she has had much the same problems with the United States as we shall be having here in Canada. Therefore, she is the one country in the world which will be able to help us decisively if we can gain her wholehearted friendship, especially since Mexico is a passionate land, and most loyal to her friends. This assistance should not be underestimated, for *Mexico is a potent influence throughout Spanish America*, her chief rival in influence being Argentina. Therefore, all the backing we can throw her way will not be misplaced.

Her problems include the use of Mexican ports by United States warships and the long-sought cession of Guadalupe Island and Magdalena Bay to the United States fleet on a basis similar to the Cuban cession of Guantanamo (to drive this home, we could perhaps mention the United States bases in Newfoundland and at Prince Rupert); construction of a highway in the Mexican Northwest from Nogales to Guadalupe, and another from Puebla to the Guatemalan border; and control of Mexican mining and industrial life. Mexico, like us, is willing to co-operate fully with our common neighbor, but she wants no relinquishing of her sovereignty on any ports, highways, or sources of productive wealth; therefore, she has fought tenaciously and even against great financial hardship to carry out these projects by herself.

These political and diplomatic features are enhanced by the fact that Mexico is complementary to us in climate and therefore our trade with her is not as competitive as with several other South American countries. Beyond this, she is contemplating a post-war merchant marine, and as Canada and Mexico have ports on both the Atlantic and the Pacific, it would be to our mutual advantage to work out agreements for reciprocal use of each other's facilities.

Mexico is concerned over the present dominance of the Mexican air by United States airlines, and she would also like to avoid exploitation in this field. To do this she will either have to encourage European concerns, which frightens her as much as an American monopoly, or perhaps co-operate with Canadians. Since Canada has no imperialist ambitions, and after the war will have many trained airmen, we should receive very favorable consideration in this regard.

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

Most of these countries are "banana republics" and more or less open dictatorships. The bright spot among them is Costa Rica, which is one of the purest democracies in the

world; although precisely because of this, German intrigue in this year's presidential elections has been very strong.

Guatemala, under President Ubico, is a typical "good roads" dictatorship, in which German commercial influence has been strong. This is said with all due apologies to the *Reader's Digest*, which lately has been praising General Ubico.

San Salvador and Nicaragua, like Guatemala, have generals as presidents; the former has a man, Hernandez Martinez, who rivals Hitler for his intuitive faculties, and who, although a vegetarian, is not unwilling to shed human blood if the occasion arises; President Somoza of Nicaragua has been sustained by United States influence since that country decided to use puppets instead of marines to collect its debts.

As for Panama, the United States likewise put in the present government, just as it engineered the secession of the little country from Colombia for its own purposes; this government is very similar to the old "Family Compact" we knew in Canada.

Honduras is the most backward country of the group, and because its capital Tegucigalpa is so isolated, it has often been the refuge of German agents.

#### WEST INDIES

Cuba is a brighter spot in this set-up, for although it is not an absolute democracy, President Batista is one of the few military men who has inclined to an increasingly liberal policy. As an instance of this, Cuba was the first country that refused to recognize Bolivia. The Royal Bank has great holdings in this island, and this is the chief reason for Canadian interest.

Haiti and the Dominican Republic are colored rivals occupying the same island. The first is the only other French-speaking country outside of Canada in America, and therefore it has a particular place in the affections of Quebec. It was also occupied for a long time like Nicaragua by United States forces, but President Lescot has assumed a place similar to Somoza's in Nicaragua, although he is not as reactionary as his Central American counterpart. Haiti's first president, Alexandre Petion, gave Bolivar very decisive support when the latter sailed on his last and successful expedition to free his homeland, Venezuela.

Santo Domingo is Spanish-speaking, and it has been the scene of one of the worst contemporary dictatorships on this continent. Trujillo, the dictator, is a combination of Gomez of Venezuela and of Huey Long.

(Part 2 of this series will appear in an early issue.)

#### Printemps

"Qu'est-ce qui gambade au ruisseau  
Coulant gaiment, jamais lassé,  
Chantant clair sur l'air pur des flots?"  
"Petit sot, c'est tout le passé."

"Qui voltige sur les nuages  
Traînant en maintes couleurs brèves  
Des jets de rose sur les marges?"  
"Cher aveugle, ce sont vos rêves."

"Que murmure la belle brise,  
Parlant tout bas à l'hirondelle,  
Chantant des paroles exquises?"  
"C'est la passion éternelle!"

Elisabeth Loftus.



# SION

## For Millions of Fighting Men . . . the BIG Battles Are Still Ahead!

In the inferno of invasion, men fall . . . paying for victory with their lives. Yet other men behind and around them press forward . . . relentlessly forward . . . until the objective is taken.

It's thrilling to read about such victories . . . to boast "I knew we could do it!" . . . to let ourselves believe the war is as good as won.

But our fighting men in Army, Navy and Air Force who are facing a desperate, strongly-fortified enemy know . . . *at first hand* . . . that the road to final victory is both long and tough.

Our fighting men know that the attacking force must have countless ships, planes, tanks and guns to blast death and destruction on the enemy—or be thrown back.

Our fighting men know that such equipment must be quickly replaced in a never-ending supply line of ships, landing barges

and trucks . . . for the toll of modern warfare is tremendous.

Our fighting men dare not slacken for a single minute until the final shot is fired. To back their valor, their courage, their readiness to sacrifice all . . . we at home must have but *one purpose* in all our thinking, all our plans—**TO PUT VICTORY FIRST!**

Anything less than this will be forsaking our fighting men in their crucial hour. To put victory first, we must put every dollar we can into Victory Bonds . . . out of savings, or on the Monthly Savings Plan out of current income.

Our fighting men are going to win those big battles still ahead. But they need help—*your help*.

Can any man or woman on the home front refuse to back them up . . . *to the very limit* . . . at a time like this?

*Put Victory FIRST*



**Buy VICTORY BONDS**



# PLANNING POST-WAR CANADA

A Special Section of THE CANADIAN FORUM

May, 1944

## War Teaches Canada to Plan for Peace

Garland Mackenzie

### 6. APPLYING CONTROLS TO OUR PEACETIME ECONOMY (2)

► CONTROL OVER supply and distribution of goods seems at first glance a wartime measure only, but it may have its peacetime application if we achieve full employment and capacity production. The chronic under-consumption and low purchasing power in a capitalist economy have obscured the fact that there has always been an acute shortage of goods. Neither Canada nor the world has ever been able to produce all the necessities and amenities of life that the people as a whole would like to have, let alone produce them while lightening the burden of toil in the difficult and monotonous occupations and shortening that burden for all of us.

For example, it will take years and a great expansion of production to raise the minimum standard of living in Canada to that now enjoyed by a moderately successful retail merchant or the lower executive class of civil servants. To reach this modest objective we may have to allocate materials and labor on a basis of first things first, and this may create a shortage of many secondary items. If we launch a big housing program simultaneously with a big expansion of the basic industries, the total demand for metals, construction materials and specialized labor might increase faster than the supply could be augmented. These projects would then require priorities, and these priorities might result in local or national shortage of office space until the housing was completed, a restriction on the growth of less essential industries until the basic industry program was completed, and scarcity of many desirable but unessential items.

The licensing of new business, and control of capital investment and expansion of plant and equipment, are obvious elements of economic planning. Two sorts of capital control are required. First, control of the total volume, to keep the sum of all public and private capital developments in approximate balance with the sum of all private and public savings and surpluses available for investment. If the Investment Authority found that the various development programs exceeded the available surplus of income over consumption, it would have to stimulate savings by a peacetime equivalent of the Victory Loan, or raise tax rates and use the extra revenue for capital purposes, or slow down the development programs, or adopt some combination of these measures. If the programs called for less investment than the available savings, it could lower taxes, increase subsidies to consumers' goods, or speed up the programs.

Secondly, there would be selective control over the kind of investment and direction of industrial development. The Authority would promote a regional distribution of industry in relation to raw materials, available personnel and market for the product. It would forestall the development of depressed areas or ghost towns either by moving industry in or population out. It would see that funds, materials and personnel were available to the prior needs, e.g., housing,

food processing industries, etc., and that the investment plan was co-ordinated with the other plans so that the capital would be available for health services, education, rural development, rural credit, etc. It would keep a close statistical check on all industrial growth and act to avert such senseless overdevelopment as took place in our newsprint industry. In this it would work closely with the Price Board and the Labor Board, just as the Priorities Branch of DMS works with WPTB and NSS today.

Control of investment would have to be broad-minded and imaginative to avoid stifling new ideas and retarding new techniques. Probably it would be wise to set up a special fund, say 5 per cent. of the total investment fund, to provide public backing for new projects which were certified to have possibilities by any responsible organization such as the National Research Council, a provincial or university research body, the Engineering Society, etc.

The Investment Authority and Price Board could jointly use the licensing control to attack excessive costs of distribution and unnecessary duplication of middlemen. Both wholesale and retail trade are less efficient than they might be, chiefly because it is too easy to enter these trades. There are too many wholesalers and retailers, and many of them operate on too small a scale. Rationalization might begin by barring new entrants except in new or rapidly growing communities, and sponsoring the transfer of existing dealers to such communities from crowded areas in preference to new entrants.

Next, the distributive trades could be reorganized step by step. Provincial or municipal operation might be the best method for some commodities, e.g., milk, gasoline. The wholesale and retail druggists might be absorbed into a pro-

### STIMULATING OPINIONS

*There is such a plethora of surveys and questionnaires in Canada at the present time that the question arises, are survey results reasonably reliable? Of course, the answer depends on the character of the survey. The mere aggregation of many uninformed opinions is scarcely reliable, but the aggregate of substantial opinions, or of some of the most substantial opinions available—I do not suggest that I have interviewed all the competent persons in Canada—should be fairly reliable.*

Dr. G. M. Weir, Director of Training, in presenting report on Rehabilitation Survey to Parliamentary Committee.

*A most interesting opinion, with regard to the feasibility of full employment, was obtained by submitting a simple questionnaire to more than 1,800 members of ten Rotary Clubs . . . It is significant that a very substantial majority of more than 1,300 Rotarians who answered the questionnaire specifically expressed the opinion that full employment in Canada is feasible.*

Hon. Ian Mackenzie, commenting on above Report.

gram of socialized medicine and health insurance. The large chain and departmental stores may be ripe for some kind of public ownership, and the consumer co-operative may have an important place. But a large section of retail trade seems well suited to private ownership, and the private retailer would be protected against unlimited entry into his field. He could count on an expanding volume of business; in return he would have to accept a narrower average margin, or pay better wages to his clerks, or both. If he failed to do a good job of retailing, consumers would pass him up in favor of the chain or the co-op. The wholesaler would doubtless have a relatively smaller share in distribution than he has today; however, with an overall expansion in buying power, this smaller share might be large enough to provide useful work for most existing wholesale establishments.

The one phase of wartime control to be discarded as quickly as possible is consumer rationing. It is expensive, a nuisance, and has nothing in its favor except the need to distribute equitably when a basic commodity is unavoidably scarce. But the technique of consumer rationing may well be applied to other purposes. For instance, assume that we decide, as a nation, to have free food, a minimum basic diet free to every man, woman and child. The coupon book would fit readily into such a plan. The coupons would be a substitute for cash in the purchase of various foodstuffs whereas at present they are only a permit to buy for cash. The coupon books might be issued locally through branches of the National Banking System and renewed periodically as at present. Once the initial difficulties were over, the system would be automatic. When a person is born, his parents present his birth certificate and get a free food coupon book with his serial number, and this is renewed periodically until he dies. The problem of falsification should be no more difficult than is the problem of counterfeit money today.

Free food would fit well with other aspects of planning. The coupons could be designated either for a particular item, a range of items, or wide open. One series might be for

#### POOR TEAM WORK?

*With reference to full employment, any sociological study, however representative in scope or objective in its methods, must be predicated upon certain assumptions . . . The basic assumption adopted by the Reconstruction Committee—I have followed the assumption of the Reconstruction Committee—is that of full employment.*

**Dr. G. M. Weir, Director of Training, introducing report on Rehabilitation Survey to Parliamentary Committee.**

*Full employment would be incompatible with the free enterprise system which carries with it the right to a normal float of unemployment.*

**Member addressing Investment Bankers Association of Canada.**

milk only in children's books and the corresponding series for adults be interchangeable among milk, cream, butter, cheese, ice cream. Others could be good for a long list of items changeable from time to time. These changes could be made to keep supply and demand in balance on any particular item. If the farmers had an unusually light potato crop, potatoes could be taken off the free list for a time and consumption would shift to other items still on the list. If there were an unusually large apple crop, one or two coupons could be declared good only for apples. One series of coupons could be designated for surplus items as notified from time to time—apples this month, cheese next month, beef when the stockyards are crowded.

In this way supply and demand could be balanced without the violent price fluctuations which ruin the farmer one year and make the public pay through the nose the next. It would involve no interference with anybody's freedom of choice. When potatoes go off the free list, anybody who wants potatoes can still buy them for cash. There would always be enough people not specially fond of potatoes to switch enough of the demand to other items and bring about a balance.

Such a scheme would fit well with an expansive foreign trade policy. The Foreign Trade Board might underwrite large imports of bananas as part of a deal to expand our exports to Central America. If the bananas did not sell readily, they could be put on the free list. If they were already on the free list, they could be put on the surplus commodity coupon list. This last step would be a signal to the Board that we were getting too many bananas, and the Board could try to revise the deal, to take less bananas and more coffee, or perhaps dicker with China to swap some of the bananas for tea.

The cost of a free minimum diet could be charged to general public revenue, and it is well within our ability to finance. Before the war the highest food relief scale in Ontario was \$6.25 weekly for a family of five, which is equal to about \$7.50 at today's prices. A 20 per cent. increase over this scale would be \$9.00 per week at present. Averaging this rate for the whole population, the cost would be around \$1,100,000,000 annually, or a little over the amount of our Gift to Britain and Mutual Aid Fund. If we can finance these gifts to other people during war, we should be able to make a slightly larger gift to ourselves during peace. Actually, the spending of such a sum should provide considerably more food than an average of 20 per cent. over top relief scales. If the Federal Treasury were paying the shot, it would make sure that none of the payments were wasted.

#### STILL WAITING

*Questioning Dr. G. M. Weir, Director of Training, Department of Pensions and National Health, J. R. MacNichol, M.P., asked: "Have you made an outline of post-war work that can be proceeded with immediately . . . to which returned men could be sent in thousands once the war is over?"*

*Dr. Weir: I assumed that Principal James' Committee already covered that ground.*

*Mr. MacNichol: We have not found anything yet from Professor James that would answer the question I asked . . . What I am thinking of is whether large numbers of men who will return are going to be sent to jobs instead of starving on the street corners as was the case following the last war . . . What we have heard this morning has been about re-training; it is re-jobbing that we want right after the war.*

*Hon. Ian Mackenzie: Already very substantial plans have been worked out, although the details of those plans have not as yet been announced. That will be one of the first functions of the new Minister of Reconstruction . . . to inform the committee exactly what is proposed in that respect.*

**Report of Proceedings of Parliamentary Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, Feb. 23, 1944.**

All of the planning agencies would be ordered to concentrate on the food producing industries, to squeeze out excessive margins, wasteful practices, unnecessary middlemen and to promote the cheapest and most efficient methods of production and distribution from the farm to the corner grocer.

All this may sound like dangerous nonsense to many good people reared in an age of rugged individualism. Let such people ponder the serious consideration given to this proposal by the scholarly and conservative journal *Fortune*, in an editorial in October, 1942, as follows:

"A year ago Geoffrey Crowther suggested in these pages that the entire food industry be, in effect, socialized . . . and that a minimum national diet be made as free as schooling . . . Henry Wallace's 'half-serious' suggestion of a quart of milk a day for everybody in the world took in less food but a lot more territory. From among such ideas a concrete proposal will one day face the American people. And it will be merely one proposal among several of a similar nature, from free medicine to free fuel.

"The idea of free food seems fantastic and dangerous to many Americans, especially those who hate and fear collectivism. But . . . if such a proposal is put to a vote in the U.S., the vote will almost certainly be for it. Is that because most Americans do not fear collectivism? Maybe. At least free food would probably not seem, to most Americans, a threat to any liberty they hold dear.

"If this is the case . . . the burden of proof will lie on those who fear that free food will destroy more liberty than it will create. There is a very good case to be made against free food. . . . But . . . it is not that we cannot afford free food in any realistic fiscal sense. Our national capacity to grow and process food is equal to the task. We can afford to do it because we have the land, the farmers, the tractors, the processing and distributing machinery to do it with . . .

#### SUBSTANTIAL THOUGHT

*Many participants in this study, business men as well as professional people and others, pointed out the alleged absurdity of expecting a return to so-called pre-war normalcy. Within a year or so after the war ends, according to their prediction, another industrial revolution, comparable to or greater than that of 150 or 200 years ago, may be experienced . . . I am giving you the consensus of much of the most substantial thought in Canada today when I make these statements, but there is also another side to the story . . . When speaking in general terms about post-war jobs, many professional people, personnel managers and even an appreciable number of industrialists and executives adopt a more optimistic outlook than perhaps would appear warranted from the analysis of specific answers to questions on employment opportunities in their own businesses or industrial establishments . . . For instance, perhaps over 80 per cent. of industrial executives are inclined to report, with reference to their own businesses, that surpluses of potential employees in the post-war period, even after the transition to a peacetime economy, will be three or four times as frequent as shortages. And yet some of these same people do not hesitate to predict, in general terms, great industrial expansion in the post-war period.*

Dr. G. M. Weir, Director of Training, introducing report on Rehabilitation Survey to Parliamentary Committee.

#### BUT IN THE PRESENT?

*The report, already somewhat bulky, would have been expanded into three or four times its present size had all relevant data supplied by Canadians from coast to coast been incorporated. I mention this just to indicate the intense interest being manifested by Canadians from coast to coast in this all-absorbing problem of rehabilitation and reconstruction. In its present form, however, it may serve as a useful compendium or mirror of contemporary Canadianism from the economic and sociological points of view, and twenty years from now may be of some historical significance.*

Dr. G. M. Weir, Director of Training, introducing report on Rehabilitation Survey to Parliamentary Committee.

"The reason why people might want socialized food is that it would free them from want and fear. . . . And the reason the people would perhaps be foolish to want free food is that it would invade the area of their other freedoms: freedom of choice as consumers and of enterprise as producers . . ."

The issue is fairly stated; it is one on which the average man can digest all the arguments and make his choice, or choose one of several compromises if he so desires: food heavily subsidized but not free, free on domestic products only, free grain and dairy products, etc.

Finally, much can be learned from the not so successful war labor policy. Perhaps no wartime authority is more unpopular than the War Labor Boards. Probably it could not be otherwise, for reasons noted above. But a Labor Board in peacetime could be the most popular of all the planning organs. Working closely with the labor unions and professional associations it would represent the interest of every employee as a producer, just as a Price Board would represent all citizens as consumers. In many ways Labor Board and Price Board would parallel and supplement each other. The Labor Board might start with the administration of a floor under wages in place of the wartime ceiling. Next, it could promote upward adjustments for all sub-standard wages, and finally push for upward adjustments in all occupations. It could enforce a general right to collective bargaining, assist industrial workers in securing collective agreements and act to promote prompt and peaceful settlement of disputes. Its powers should be much broader than those given to such boards in the past. It should have access to the books of all employers, public or private, to really determine their ability to pay higher rates. It should have powers similar to the Price Board, to go into questions of more efficient methods of production, elimination of socially unnecessary costs, simplification and, finally, price adjustments or subsidies in industries where wage scales are below standard. Price Board and Labor Board would often pursue the same aims from opposite directions, often, no doubt, reaching opposite conclusions and having to compromise differences or refer them to higher authority.

A Labor Board working to these ends with these powers should rank high in the esteem of the workers. Such a Board would be an important guardian of the workers' interests vis-à-vis the public employer as well as the private employer. It has been charged that in a socialist economy the worker would no longer be free, that he would be dominated by the state as employer and government combined. There is just enough half-truth in this to indicate the need for a strong public board, constitutionally separate from the management



of public industry and other planning agencies, to back up the unions in representing the interests of the workers.

There would also be a place for National Selective Service in peacetime, though for administrative reasons it might be amalgamated with the Labor Board. It would be a new kind of employment service, as it would be responsible for the supply of labor and as it would have a major share in determining how many jobs would be available. It would keep the Planning Authority advised on the number of persons available for work and the breakdown according to age, sex, location, type of skill or training, physical condition, etc. Its chief officer would be a member of the Planning Authority and he would advise whether the overall plan was consistent with the total working population available, neither too modest so as to provide insufficient employment nor too ambitious so as to break down from shortage of manpower. Locally, it would work closely with industry and with the educational institutions to discover, anticipate and provide for the needs of the community for persons with various kinds of training and education. It would also operate its own re-training centres to protect the individual from the impact of technological change. All commencement, change and termination of employment would be recorded and the Planning Authority advised of any local, regional or national lack of balance between jobs and job-seekers.

It would have one other function. Probably some form of military training will be retained for a considerable time after the war. Even if, in time, permanent peace seems assured, there are arguments in favor of some form of compulsory public service for every citizen at an early stage in life and regardless of financial circumstances or sex. Military training might be largely replaced by a period of work for everybody, at the end of their formal education, on conservation or reclamation projects, along the lines of the late Civilian Conservation Corps in the United States. Universal service on socially useful projects is basically democratic. Well administered, it could encourage the development of social and co-operative attitudes and mitigate the tendency to breed drones at both ends of the social scale.

The two foregoing articles constitute only a brief, suggestive sketch of what might be accomplished by planning in peacetime. They are in no sense a blue print. There are great gaps left, and generalizations made without indicating the qualifications that would apply in practice. There is probably not one suggestion made herein which, considered in isolation, could not be torn to pieces. Anyone who likes may do so. It is the broad picture that counts. If, in 1939, some brilliant mind had been able to predict accurately and in detail the development of wartime planning and control, any practical man or first-year economics student in a university could have pointed to a thousand reasons why it would be unworkable or disastrous if tried.

There has been no examination, except by implication, of the big question: How far must there be socialization to have planning? Today this question seems somewhat academic; we have much that is planned and much unplanned, a lot of public industry and a lot of private industry; in brief, a thoroughly mixed economy. Some elements of planning will certainly carry on into peacetime; how much, remains to be seen. Much depends on whether the international settlement is stable and expansive or otherwise, on the political trend in post-war Britain and Europe, and perhaps most of all on what happens in the United States. If the world is able to avoid too great a post-war mess, we will be free to continue on experimental and evolutionary lines.

If the public authority takes over a few key economic positions such as banking and finance, and if the wartime

#### WHERE'S THE IMPOSSIBILITY?

*In Canada the CCF program calls not only for the extension of our wartime system of non-parliamentary controls into peace-time but for the strengthening and toughening of it. The whole CCF plan for government management of the nation's economy is built on a proliferation of regulatory boards which would have power to legislate on almost every phase of the citizen's daily life. This is inevitable, of course, in any system which proposes to place all economic activity under direct government control since neither Parliament nor any government could possibly keep in touch with such far-flung activities.*

Winnipeg Free Press, April 13, 1944.

*Keeping the responsibility for planning in the hands of a democratic government is the guarantee that we shall have no totalitarian state nor a society dominated by "experts." . . . People in Canada today feel that the present war controls are dictatorial and bureaucratic. . . . Seldom is there previous consultation with the people most affected. . . . The first thing the CCF will do will be to invite farmer, labor, consumer and returned service men's organizations to select their representatives for all the appropriate control boards. The dollar-a-year men will be replaced by full-time administrators serving the public only.*

Lewis and Scott: "Make This YOUR Canada."

agencies are retained and their policies adjusted to peacetime ends along some such lines as sketched herein, then we should not have to worry too much about whether ownership of the rest of industry is public or private. In fact, it would be hard to tell one from the other. The private owner would become less and less an uncontrolled dictator over what he owned, more and more a sort of junior partner with a participation in profits. Likewise, private and public management would be pretty much alike. Both would be required to follow certain general policies and principles as laid down by the Planning Authority and its agencies; both would be given the widest latitude, within those principles, to operate in the way which seems best to them, but their discretion would end when it became a matter of public interest such as the wages paid to the workers or the price charged for the product.

Finally, let us suggest that it will not be all beer and skittles in a planned economy. As mentioned above, it will take much time and effort to raise production and improve distribution to the point where everyone can have what the lower middle class at present enjoy. Moreover, it probably cannot be done without retaining a number of controls that will be somewhat irksome to everybody, not merely to the owners of capital. Both farmers and labor will find that they will have to accept in modified form many of the things against which they are vigorously protesting today. If labor and farm groups can see nothing to aim at except unlimited increases in wages and agricultural prices, if they stand in the way of technical change and new developments, then planning will be stultified from the start. Success will come only to those nations which can achieve democratic co-operation and self-imposed restraint of selfish impulses.

[This is the sixth and last of a series by Garland MacKenzie on the application of controls to Canada's economy in wartime and peacetime.]

## Equatorial Conflict— A Study in Black and White

Bruce Woodsworth

► AS MILITARY VICTORY NEARS, Canadians should remember that the four freedoms must be translated into living realities, not only in our own country but in other parts of the world as well. These paper freedoms will not become living realities unless organized public opinion forces concrete action.

We in Canada inherited our political democracy. While we work towards economic democracy it is hard for us to realize the existence of large areas of the earth's surface whose peoples have practically no democracy of any kind. We grew up carefully drilled in the knowledge that the sun never sets on the British Empire. We were not told, however, that for countless thousands of colored folk living in its colonies and mandated territory, that same sun of British justice and British liberty has scarcely risen.

One of Canada's trade commissioners, returning from West Africa's Gold Coast, recently commented:

"Although most of the natives don't fully understand the real significance of the war, they feel that Britain has been fair to them and they are ready to help now they are needed." As I read that there flashed before my memory a picture of one of Britain's crown colonies, Northern Rhodesia, where as a geological engineer I spent two and a half years just before the war. My work took me to many parts of this isolated outpost, in size somewhat smaller than British Columbia, where 60 native tribes use 38 dialects. My experiences there led me to a very different conclusion.

Again I was in the five-ton motor lorry laden with survey equipment, *Bantu* laborers and the ever-present red dust which covers most of this country, as it swung into its fourth day up the Great North Road. This Rhodesian link in Cecil Rhodes' vision of a Cape to Cairo railway, in places little more than wheel ruts, twists for a thousand miles from the Southern Rhodesia border, north through the Copper Belt to Tanganyika, bisecting a colony in which one and a half million Negroes are dominated by 13,000 whites. With a curse the driver shifted into second as some fifty natives scurried into the six-foot grass by the road, pulling picks and shovels after them. At each end of the road gang was an *askari*, rifle taut, black-tasselled fez perched jauntily atop close-cropped woolly head, his uniform a sharp contrast to the tattered undershirts and shorts of his prisoners.

"Tax defaulters," growled the driver. "If the bloody *Bantu* had brains in their thick skulls, they'd work out their poll tax in the copper mines. Instead they hide until the police boys round them up for a month's road work each year. But what can the 'munts' learn anyway except the mechanics of producing picannins?" He spat philosophically, slowing down for another batch of defaulters.

In this colony all male natives between 18 and 45 must pay an annual government poll tax of \$1.85 to \$3.75 varying with the district. The native economy is based on primitive village agriculture and barter. Hence to pay this tax the men must leave their villages, trek through the bush for three or four weeks in order to seek work from the white man on his wheat farms, his cattle ranches, his coffee plantations, or in the five great copper mines of the British South Africa Company.

Wage comparisons are revealing: working on contract a white miner, who merely supervises the labor of his black

gang underground, may earn up to \$300 and sometimes \$400 a month. The Negroes under him, however, will average only \$6 monthly, as will cooks and houseboys in the towns. Farm labor is not so remunerative: wages vary from \$1.50 to \$3.15 monthly. In our field work, geologists like myself were paid \$250 a month; usual starting wages for our 15 or 20 "boys" was \$2 a month. If they proved industrious in a land beset by such discouragements to hard work as tropical sun, malaria and sleeping sickness, savage animals and reptiles, and greatest of all a profound superstition and ignorance, they might get a shilling raise every three months. Top wages were \$3 regardless of how long or faithfully they served the white *bwana*. (They did receive, however, two pounds of mealie meal food rations per man per day at a cost to the company of two cents, and on Saturdays got two pounds of beans—provided no game had been shot recently—and a tablespoon of salt to tide them over the weekend.)

The interesting point about native education is that English, the language of business, is rarely taught. With few government schools the burden of teaching falls mainly on the missions, which are supported by churches back home and to a lesser extent by government subsidies. "Back home" might mean France, Germany, or the United States; for many areas supported mission schools from all three, working in apparent harmony with one another in a British colony. The small proportion of native children who attend are taught personal cleanliness, gardening, and how to read and write one of the official dialects—which will have little effect towards securing semi-skilled positions in government offices or native stores.

They also leave with a knowledge of the Scriptures, which must seem strangely incompatible with the practices of their white masters. Small wonder that many have turned to the fanatical Watch Tower movement. This nationalistic sect appeared in neighboring Nyasaland about 1906, and in 1914 was connected with the Chilembwe revolt in which one John Chilembwe, a native who had been educated in an American Baptist seminary, cut off the head of a white estate manager and preached a sermon with it before him on the pulpit. The revolt was suppressed and 20 natives executed. This movement later spread to the Congo, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. R. L. Buell, outstanding American authority on international affairs, writes in this connection: "Some native preachers . . . interpreting the Old Testament . . . assert that the Europeans are the modern Nebuchadnezzar who will eventually be overcome. . . . Again, forty were put in jail at Livingstone during the World War for preaching that war was anti-Christian and advocating passive resistance to the government requisition for porters." (Incidentally, unorganized passive resistance and feigned stupidity are constantly employed to hamper and frustrate the white man.) "In 1925 another leader, proclaiming himself to be the Son of God, preached the doctrine that in order to gain eternal life man must first die. As a result of his exhortation about 170 natives deliberately drowned themselves in a river near the Rhodesia-Congo border. . . ."

Copper helped develop the adjoining Belgian Congo. It made Northern Rhodesia. Prior to the mid-twenties little was known about the mineral reserves of the latter, although the British South Africa Company, first headed by Cecil Rhodes, held sole land and mineral concessions over vast areas of what was then unorganized territory. In 1926 mineral output was four-fold that of 1925 and by 1937 it was valued at \$65 million. Copper exports dwarf other shipments. With rearming Europe acting as a powerful magnet for war metals, Rhodesian copper exports jumped in value

from \$25 million in 1936 to \$45 million in 1938. In this latter year copper, vanadium, zinc and gold formed 97% of the total value of domestic exports, of which copper alone comprised 88%. The five great mines of the British South Africa and subsidiary companies, known individually as Bwana M'kubwa, Roan Antelope, Mufulira, N'kana and N'Changa, and collectively forming the Copper Belt, have the largest known copper reserves in the world. A responsible engineer stationed there told me that even at present high production rates they have a probable life of 100 years. Small wonder with \$6.00 monthly wages and comparatively few white salaries to be paid, that Rhodesian copper controls the world market. Small wonder that during the depression great labor layoffs occurred in the big copper producers of Canada, of Arizona, Utah, Montana and Michigan; that at Britannia production was greatly curtailed while Copper Mountain, another British Columbia producer, closed down completely. International Nickel at Sudbury, Ontario, was saved by the fact that its ore was copper-nickel-platinum and there was a great demand for nickel during the later thirties, while at Noranda in Quebec development was concentrated on those portions of the mine which ran high in gold and low in copper. Even non-union white labor can't compete with semi-slave black labor.

The North Charterland Exploration Company, the British South Africa Company, and to a lesser extent the government have alienated 20,000 square miles from a total of 291,000. But much of the remaining land still open to the native is unsuitable for cultivation, while the tsetse fly, dread carrier of sleeping sickness, infests more than half the colony making it impossible to raise stock in the infected areas. Most hopeful prospects for native development appear in Barotseland, a large native reserve forbidden to white exploitation.

The Barotse nation is ruled by a "Paramount Chief" who in the eyes of his subjects can do no wrong. Chief Lewanika, one of the few great figures of African history, ruled when the whites first began filtering in. He was succeeded by the present ruler Yeta III, a much-photographed monarch at the time of his visit to London several years ago. With rare shrewdness the Barotse people make sure their ruler can do no wrong by making his actions responsible to a national assembly. This *Kolla*, as it is called, tries important cases and makes native laws. In theory its judgment is final but in practice an aggrieved native may take his case to the European Commissioner, although the latter does not encourage the practice. The Barotse national school at Mongu has a staff of three white teachers, 20 native instructors and nearly 800 pupils. It is financed by a trust fund comprising one-third of all the native taxes paid Yeta III. Its weak point is administration. Instead of the Paramount Chief and the *Kolla* controlling the native treasury, as in other African colonies, five white officials and two missionaries are in charge. Even so, this experiment in native government is an improvement over the usual policy under which expenditure on native welfare is only 20 percent. that spent on white—this in a country where blacks outnumber whites 108 to one.

This article has sketched a picture of "enlightened" imperialism as it exists in a little-known spot on the globe. Capitalistic exploitation of colored races, thrusting aside weak government administration in its ruthless search for profit, follows a definite pattern in practically all colonies. (And here let it be freely admitted that Britain has ruled her colonies better than any other world power with the possible exception of Holland.)

A new approach to the colonial problem will have to be found. Prime emphasis will have to be placed upon the

development of natural resources by technically-trained natives, *for their own use first*, not for the present purpose of rounding out the bank accounts of giant corporations in Europe and America.

While native troops die in Africa and Asia so that the western democracies may be ensured freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and fear, it is well to know that these same natives enjoy few rights of any description. In return for their help in assisting us to secure a peaceful world, we must unbar the gates of self-government for them as rapidly as plans, designed specifically for this purpose, may be put into effect.

Even now they are challenging the assumed right of the white race to dominate the world, just as we are challenging Hitler's myth of Aryan superiority and world domination for the German *volk*. If we fail to heed the warning of the black and the yellow and the brown we may well lay the groundwork for World War III.

Soberly I recall the hard, mask-like expressions which replaced the flashing smiles of my twenty *Bantu* as the head boy explained why the local natives called the town, near which we were then camped, Chibara.

"Yes, *Bwana*," he replied in the dialect of the Awemba people, "the English call it Abercorn. But we *Bantu* called it Chibara for years before the white settlers came and drove us off the land. . . . And some day," he paused to curl sinuous fingers around a handful of rich red dirt, "some day, *Bwana*, that town will again be called Chibara!"

## Landlady

Through sepia air the boarders come and go  
impersonal as trains. Pass silently  
the craving silence swallowing her speech;  
click doors like shutters on her camera eye.

Because of her their lives become exact:  
their entrances and exits are designed;  
phone calls are cryptic. Oh, her ticklish ears  
advance and fall back stunned.

Nothing is unprepared. They hold the walls  
about them when they weep or laugh. Each face  
is dialled to zero publicly. She peers  
stippled with curious flesh;

pads on the patient landing like a pulse,  
unlocks their keyholes with the wire of sight,  
searches their rooms for clues when they are out,  
pricks when they come home late.

Wonders when they are quiet, jumps when they move,  
dreams that they dope or drink, trembles to know  
the traffic of their brains, jaywalks their streets  
on clumsy shoes.

Yet knows them better than their closest friends:  
their cupboards and the secrets of their drawers,  
their books, their private mail, their photographs,  
are theirs and hers.

Knows when they wash, how frequently their clothes  
go to the cleaners, what they like to eat,  
their curvature of health, but even so  
is not content.

For like a lover, must know all, all, all.  
Prays she may catch them unprepared at last  
and palm the dreadful riddle of their skulls—  
hoping the worst.

P. K. Page.



## CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor:

I feel that Miss Livesay has a definite point to make: namely, that some of the more adventurous and technically experimental Canadian poets are inclined to be over-complicated, over-subjective and consequently too obscure. But I consider that she has weakened this valid criticism, and indeed cast doubts on her own critical ability, by the following: (1) Describing George Barker, the political poet of Spain, the Vision of England and the Elegies, as the satellite of Thomas, the non-political poet of surrealism and sex. This seems to show that what Miss Livesay is really afraid of is any kind of emotional richness which expresses itself not in an undifferentiated gasp but in an expert and interesting use of words. (2) A "colonial" fear of cosmopolitanism, a provincial carping at those derivations and early dependencies which are inevitable in young writers. Whom does she want us to admire and to have emulated in our youth—E. J. Pratt? (3) The use of misquotation as a weapon in her attack. Not only does she truncate my two poems but she also inserts full stops in the middle of both.

What does it all boil down to? Miss Livesay criticizes the Preview group because we write about the country of our own heads in a manner that is "euphuistic" and derivative. I would answer that it is very proper for a writer to be concerned with his own experience and to describe his reaction to the Canadian social scene in terms of his consciousness. One could argue that on what happens in the heads and hearts of this generation will depend the country's future. It is probably more important to *live* here, in the fullest sense that implies imagination, exploration of sensibility and emotional involvement, than simply to *describe* one's surroundings. (Admittedly the dualism is only relative.)

As to euphuism, what Miss Livesay calls "florid texture and fascinating use of rhyme" together with absence of idea, I am at a loss to know how she arrives at this in view of her quotations, presumably the most glaring examples she could find. She quotes one poem whose final "punch lines" are "awoke to Hitler's gangrene empire/and little Franco strutting in Spain's pus," one which has the simple and not unrealistic image, "the milk of sheets and silk of dreams" and one whose description of the isolation of the individual is perfectly straightforward. As I suggested, there have been some over-elaborate poems but these quotations would never prove it. Nor is it quite credible that Miss Livesay should say that the poetry of our group leaves "no ideas" in the reader's head in view of the fact that *Preview* is continually being lambasted for its socialism and that one of Miss Livesay's *bêtes noires* was recently awarded a prize by *Poetry Magazine* for social verse, i.e., verse of ideas. *Preview* is the only magazine of its kind which has declared anti-fascism a fundamental principle of its policy. Isn't it rather strange that Miss Livesay is almost morbidly sensitive to the presence in a poem of those things that differentiate poetry from prose—not ideas, which are in their baldest sense translatable and paraphrasable, but words, images and rhythm with their associative values? Miss Livesay is so nervous with such things that she can talk about our poems, which usually employ consonance or assonance or are unrhymed, as having a "fascinating use of rhyme."

I realize that it is difficult for a critic to get a good view of a poet's work in its variety and roundness in a country where the possibilities of publication are so limited. I would hazard the suggestion that Miss Livesay has really read little of our work. But then, so far as I know, she is not a subscriber to *Preview*.

PATRICK ANDERSON, Montreal, P.Q.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

WHAT RUSSIA WANTS: Joachim Joesten; Collins (Duell, Sloan & Pearce); pp. 214; \$3.00.

THE SOVIET FAR EAST: William Mandel; Longmans, Green & Co. (The Dial Press); pp. 158; \$3.00.

"Russia's war aims hold no mystery. There is nothing enigmatic about her foreign policy. The Russian riddle is of our own making—this book helps to undo it."

This quotation is lifted off the dust jacket of Mr. Joachim Joesten's latest book on current political problems. Unlike most publishers' blurbs it is true. *What Russia Wants* contributes to the understanding of Soviet foreign policy.

From time to time Mr. Joesten makes the obeisance to anti-Soviet mythology which seems to be required of all American journalists who want to make a living. The general tenor of his analysis is, however, fair to the Soviet Union and well calculated by the introduction of facts into the controversy about Soviet policy to deflate the extravagances of professional anti-Sovietes like Mgr. Fulton Sheen and Comrade Max Eastman.

Mr. Joesten has rendered a service to the public by printing the *Declaration of Principles* of the Union of Polish Patriots adopted at its convention in Moscow, June 8-9, 1943. This important document appeared in *Russky Golos*, June 23, 1943, but it has never been reported by our press. The *Declaration of Principles* reveals the fundamental causes of disagreement not only between the Soviet and Polish Government-in-Exile, but between the various elements in the Polish nation. The Polish-Soviet conflict is only superficially a conflict between nations; basically it is a class conflict within Poland itself about the nature and destiny of the Polish state. Quite apart from the fact that the Union of Polish Patriots is supported by several large and well-organized Polish fighting units, the Union is a serious Polish political force both now and for the future. The contents of the *Declaration* prove this.

The *Declaration* proposes for Poland something it has never had: a democratic political and social organization. It advocates the establishment of a democratically elected Sejm or parliament, the division of the great estates and the distribution of the land to the peasantry, control but not suppression of the capitalist class by the state in the interests of a people's economy, the separation of church and state and the establishment of religious, political and civil freedom. It advocates firm friendship with the U.S.S.R. This last has a deep internal significance. It means the end of the Polish *Drang nach Osten*, which has been the theme of the Polish, feudal aristocracy for a thousand years alike during dark days and bright. The Polish *Drang nach Osten* has been and still is a program of feudal conquest of more peasant serfs for the great estates and more souls for the church. History has happily rendered this program no longer tenable. Poland is being asked to look westward for territory on the Baltic. This is hateful to the Polish feudal elements which dominate the Government-in-Exile. It means the strengthening of the proletarian and capitalist elements in Polish society. It means also that the remnants of the Jewish minority will be reinforced by a German minority, and that by an irony of history the Jews and the Germans will probably be strong enough to put an end to anti-Semitism and discrimination against minorities which has long been a disfiguring feature of Polish society.

The U.S.S.R.'s Polish policy is a prototype of all its policies in relation to both its neighbors and enemies in Europe and elsewhere. The Soviets rely for their security upon their own military and economic strength and upon

the goodwill and peace-loving character of the democratic movements in Europe. This seems to be the conclusion of Mr. Joesten's book, and it suggests that there is nothing very new about the Kremlin's deep game. Stalin's policies have new music but the scenario is Lenin's. In May, 1920, the Polish gentlemen took Kiev. The British workers answered by refusing to load the *Jolly George*. A smashing counter-attack sent the Poles reeling back towards Warsaw. By Autumn, 1920, the aroused democratic forces of Europe and the might of the Red Army had destroyed the dreams of Polish and French imperialists. The Soviet Government seems to be sure that the favorable aspects of history will repeat themselves, if encouraged.

*The Soviet Far East* is a factual study of the resources of the Soviet areas along the Pacific and the Manchurian borders and in Central Asia. The author, Mr. William Mandel, is a research associate of the American Russian Institute, and he has written this book on the invitation of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The greatest obstacle Mr. Mandel has encountered in producing his study has been the absence of information available to the world at large about what goes on inside the frontiers of the Soviet Far East. But he has worked with the hawk eye of an army intelligence officer pouncing upon little items in *Izvestia* or *Trud* which may point to the fact that the highway between Vladivostok and Ulan Ude must be as good as the highway from New York to Cleveland.

Fortunately it has been possible for Mr. Mandel to provide some general information which indicates the remarkable development of the central Asian and Far Eastern parts of the U.S.S.R. during the past 15 years. Development in these areas has been at an even greater rate than elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. The last published budget of April 6, 1941, shows that although the Khabarovsk Territory is 36th in the Union in point of population its budget was the fourth largest. The six territories regions, and autonomous republics which make up the area between Lake Baikal and the Pacific contained 5,750,000 people in 1941. The last figures made public indicate that their steel production was half as great as Canada's wartime production. It may be much above this figure today. The locomotive works and car shops at Ulan Ude produce all the rolling stock required by the Trans-Siberian Railway beyond Lake Baikal. At Komsomolsk there is a shipyard which the Soviets claim is the largest in the eastern Pacific area. How large this may be is not known, but the Komsomolsk yards are six times the size of the yards at Nikolaev in the Ukraine before they were destroyed by war.

These are the sort of facts Mr. Mandel has produced in abundance. They provide the background which enables us to understand the internal reasons for the changes in the Soviet Constitution. They indicate plainly that backward peoples have risen to the surface of life, and that the one-time serfs of the Emir of Bokhara are building, planning and operating hydro-electric stations, cotton plantations and chemical works. Just as the socialist economy of the Soviets and the military force of the Red Army are some of the fundamental factors in the renaissance of democracy in Europe, so the socialist economy of Soviet Asia is becoming the best guarantee of Asia's hope for democracy. Soviet Asia is a constant threat to the inner ring of the Japanese fortress, and its growing strength sharply limits Japan's capacity to manoeuvre. At the same time the achievements of Asiatics in the U.S.S.R. is a constant inspiration to all Asia. Mr. Mandel tells us that the Indian Government is circulating pictures of the wonders of Soviet Asia in order to convince the Indians that they are on the right side in this war. It is funny the truth there is in propaganda.

H. S.

THE PROMISE: Pearl Buck; Macmillan; pp. 248; \$2.75.

*The Promise* is a sequel to *Dragon Seed*, and continues the story of Ling Tan and his family after the entrance of Great Britain and the United States into the war in the Far East. In *Dragon Seed* the characters were full of hope and faith in the strength of the men of Ying and Mei, and were buoyed up by Churchill's promise of eventual freedom for all conquered peoples. In *The Promise*, they lose that faith, as their allies retreat before the Japanese, and they finally conclude that promises are worthless, and they must fight their battle alone.

Except for brief glimpses of the grimness of life under the conquerors in Ling Tan's village in Occupied China, most of the action of the book takes place in Free China, and in Burma, where the Generalissimo sends some of his finest divisions to help the men of Ying hold that ill-fated country against the enemy. Ling Tan's Third Son is with them, and Mayli, the American-educated Chinese girl goes too, in charge of the nurses, and to act as "eyes and ears" for the Lady at Chungking. With them we follow the long march into Burma, and through their eyes we see the debacle what they consider to be their betrayal by their British allies.

Mrs. Buck's prose, with its Biblical turn of phrase, is as calm and measured as always, her China as real and charming, but she has lost her temper. In her anger at the British in their failure to hold Burma and the back door to China, she jabs unmercifully with her pen, the while she grows more starry-eyed over the Chinese. One feels that she makes her picture too black and white. Neither are all British these stupid insular people she describes, who talk of "white men" and "Chinks," and refuse to have encampments near Asiatics, nor are all Chinese selfless, patriotic idealists, who will sacrifice all for their country and the One Above at Chungking.

A Chinese army driver takes off the hood of his truck and leaves the precious engine open to the rain and dust of the Burma road—"What am I that twenty times a day I must heave up a cover and put it down again? I took the cursed thing off." That is childish willfulness. The British destroy two hundred machines in the retreat, in order that they should not fall into enemy hands. That is betrayal of their allies. "If it had been I, the vehicles would have been saved," says the Chinese General.

Occasionally the author puts a dash of white on the black picture of the Englishman by isolated remarks about his bravery or his goodness, but these are only statements which have no background picture to make them facts. In short, one feels that in all that part of the book which shows the two allies together, she has omitted any shades of gray, any variation in the picture of The Englishman and The Chinese. In so doing, she has destroyed the integrity of her characterization.

Catherine Baker-Carr.

THE HEART OF JADE: Salvador de Madariaga; Collins (Creative Age Press); pp. 642; \$3.25.

Cortes rode into the streets of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) at the head of an invading Spanish army in 1521. The dark-skinned Mexicans had never seen horses, wheels or candles before. They worshipped the Spaniards, and by the time the greed and lust of the latter had proven them to be of human rather than divine origin, the Spaniards were in control of the vast empire of Anahuac, and held the Emperor Moteczuma prisoner. Forty years later, Don Martin Cortes, son of the Conquistador, was destined to die at the stake for his leadership of an Indian-Christian revolt against the un-



speakeable barbarities by which the Spaniards retained economic, military and religious control of Mexico.

*The Heart of Jade* is the story of Don Alonso Manrique, son of Salome-ha-Levy, converted Jewess, and Don Rodrigo Manrique. Alonso had been exiled to the Indies from Spain as the result of a brawl during which he had killed "The Boar," dean of the Seminary in which he was novice, because of the menial tasks to which the latter had constantly assigned him. He married Princess Xuchitl, of the House of Netzayalcoatl, hero-bard of Texcuco, whose poetry is still reproduced in the best of Spanish anthologies. He gave the Princess the Cross of Christ. She gave him the Heart of Jade in return.

This magic jewel empowered its wearer to win and forever enjoy woman's love. It had belonged to King Netzahualpilli, Princess Xuchitl's father. He had been a historian and astronomer. So keen was his mind that in reacting against the stupid acquiescence of his people on the one hand, and the bigotry of Aztec priests on the other, in their common practice of a religion of omens, human sacrifices and superstitions, the King had lost all contact with his fellow human beings except through that of lust encouraged by his social position. His daughter welcomed the arrival of the Spaniards joyfully, because they meant spiritual and intellectual companionship for her, and a bloodless religion for Mexico. It was her husband, Don Alonso, who rejected the narrow fanaticisms by which his fellow Christians replaced the Aztec religion.

Noblest example of that religion's teaching is Ixcuatzin, the Disdained One, cousin of Xuchitl. An ascetic, he recognized that the conquest of Xuchitl and of Mexico by the Spaniard was inevitable. He did not abandon his faith. He offered himself as intermediary to the native gods, and his heart was torn from his living body by the Aztec priests as their last bloody prayer to rid the land of the plague of warriors from the East who desecrated their altars and their homes.

Meanwhile the Knight Alonso's mother (baptized Isabel) had become a widow. Her father, the rabbi of Torremala, had long ago accompanied his Jewish flock into exile during the mass expulsion of his coreligionists from Spain in 1492—that year in which one of them, Christopher Columbus, discovered America for the material benefit of their persecutors. Because she possessed Jewish books, Dona Isabel was tortured by the Inquisition. Yet she, who had become Catholic to marry a Christian, and had maintained she was Christian despite the worst tortures of the Inquisition, died a Jewess.

Salvador de Madariaga was Foreign Minister of Spain during the early days of the Republic. He is a liberal, and always stoutly pursued a policy of international policing of the world through the League of Nations. Exiled to Switzerland during the Civil War, and now working in Mexico, he is a recognized authority on Aztec mythology.

In *Heart of Jade* he has admirably captured the immensity of those desert wastes which sear the vision, and toss it from the hell-flame of cactus blossoms to the natural spires of sandstone, virgin blue and immaculate white mountain peaks, common both to Mexico and to Spain. This scenery of ecstatic beauty and ferocious land-forms he has peopled with the fools, bigots, harlots, wise men, knights and pagans of medieval ballad. Love, human or divine, he accepts. But he often wonders, one suspects, why men and women allow their own children to be sacrificed to abstract causes of whose validity they have no logical proof, and the visible result of which, is, oftentimes, no more than material aggrandizement.

Josephine Hambleton.

THE ETHICS OF LABOR RELATIONS: J. C. Cameron; Ryerson (Live and Learn Books); pp. 14; 20c.

This pious little booklet is probably the most useless publication yet issued in Canada on the subject of labor-management relations. Conceived by the head of Queen's University's Industrial Relations Section, it purports to describe the "new" point of view in employer-employee relationships.

Professor Cameron writes as if he was still living in a pre-war Canada where the initiative to establish or improve employee conditions rested upon the employer. Thinking thus, he makes out a good case for kindly paternalism. His remarks are quite meaningless, however, to the employer faced with organization of his employees into one of the major bona-fide unions or to the impartial observer trying to see some sense in the rapidly-developing labor scene within the Dominion.

A few quotations from his proposed "Policy" for the fictitious "Fairplay Manufacturing Company" will show its weakness. In one spot he deals with the development of employer-employee relationships and says, "Some group must assume the *leadership* and undertake to *advise* and *educate* both supervisory force and wage earners in these matters. It is proper that the *Board of Directors* assume this responsibility . . ." A new local of recently organized employees will hardly appreciate this unconsciously arrogant attitude nor will experienced union leaders agree that previously inexperienced employers are in any condition to "educate" anyone else before they educate themselves. Elsewhere he reiterates the good old catchwords about protecting "legal" bargaining agencies (whatever they are) and opposing groups which seek by "subterfuge, misrepresentation, coercion or other objectionable means to strengthen itself." Experienced unionists have yet to see any employer who wasn't quite certain that any bona-fide union came under the same category, particularly in comparison with some pet company union spawned by management "in the interests of the workers."

Cameron's ideas about conditional seniority and the "out-lawing" of sympathy strikes are equally naive.

As stated above Cameron makes the mistake of assuming that satisfactory labor-management relations can be developed from the top down. Current history shows that partnership between labor and management is possible, but only after labor has taken the initiative in winning, through organization, a position of equal power with management. The era of paternalism about which the writer apparently still dreams is dead and its modern carryover of company unionism is a dangerous blot upon Canadian democracy.

Professor Cameron and his Department have done a magnificent job for Canada in their compilation of statistics and comparisons of collective bargaining relationships. He could do a great service by honestly explaining to his employer friends the true facts about the bona fide unions with which they must sooner or later deal. But if this is any sample, he should steer clear of "Ethics." They're a dangerous subject at best.

Murray Cotterill.

FREE MINDS, JOHN MORLEY AND HIS FRIENDS: Frances W. Knickerbocker; Harvard University Press; pp. xi, 288; \$3.00 (U.S.A.)

It must be significant of something that within the last few months two good American studies of John Morley have

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appeared. Perhaps the way is being prepared for some Carl Becker to give us a Heavenly City of the Victorian Liberal Philosophers. Mrs. Knickerbocker's volume is surely one of the most delightful books on any nineteenth-century Englishman that has appeared for a long time. It makes the man who wrote *God with a small g* and Gladstone with a capital G come to life again as he really was, along with his friends Leslie Stephen and Frederic Harrison, not heretics but "priests dedicated to a liberating faith." The best part of the book is on the *Fortnightly* of the 1870's and its great work in liberating the minds of that generation. Mrs. Knickerbocker brings out clearly how Morley's French studies were designed to show the line of intellectual succession from Condorcet and Diderot to Mill and Victorian liberalism at its best. She makes us feel with her what a pity it was that Morley deserted literature for politics and never wrote that *Life of Mill* which would have been the final flowering of Victorian liberalism. She is not quite so good on the later Morley in the age of anti-intellectual reaction which was to culminate in our own catastrophic era, for Morley himself never quite made out what had happened to his hopeful generation when it entered on its descent into Bismarckism. But this is a stimulating book, and perhaps it will lead some readers in their search for the foundations of a humane and liberal civilization back to Condorcet and Mill, who still seem better prophets than any that we have produced since their day. F. H. U.

**THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN THOUGHT:** Merle Curti; Musson (Harper & Bros.); pp. xx, 848; \$4.00.

This book is, as its author says, a social or a socio-economic history of American thought. It inevitably reminds one of the writings of Parrington and Beard. But in its detailed examination of material it goes far beyond what these previous historians accomplished. It deals not merely with the great outstanding and typical writers of any generation, but burrows into the magazines and pamphlets of the time and brings to life again hundreds of forgotten writers. The comprehensiveness of Professor Curti's researches is shown by the fact that his bibliography and index at the end of the book occupy nearly one hundred pages. He is interested in the process by which ideas seeped down to the masses of the people; he studies how the development of science and education affected the outlook of the ordinary American on life from generation to generation. In fact the range of his interest is so wide that sometimes his pages tend to become mere lists of unknown names. And the general result is that his book does not convey the sense of the excitement of American intellectual adventures as do the works of Parrington and Beard. But it is a remarkable achievement, and the student who is interested in the history of American life can find illuminating material about every period from the colonial beginnings to the present.

F. H. U.

**HAVE WE FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL?:** F. F. Hill and F. A. Harper; Public Affairs Committee; pp. 28; 15c.

This new pamphlet (No. 89) is written by two members of the Department of Agricultural Economics at Cornell University. The main theme is that if the U.S.A. is to make any contribution to feeding the starving peoples of the world when possible, she will have to make readjustments in her own dietary habits. 749 lbs. of soy beans or 500 lbs. of wheat can be produced by one day's labor as against only 10 lbs. of beef or 11 lbs. of chickens or eggs. The temporary readjustment could be facilitated by ensuring farmers a relatively higher price for their beans than for their animal products.

The same picture holds good for Canada too, and surely we should plan immediately for the change. Surpluses in wheat are declining sharply and experts predict there will soon be none. And yet Mr. Gardiner issued posters in the prairies not so very long ago urging farmers to help win the war by growing less wheat! G. D. G.

**PATTERN FOR PEACEMAKERS:** R. Alfred Hassler; Fellowship Publications; pp. 44; 25c (U.S.A.)

**OUTCASTS!:** Caleb Foote; Fellowship Publications; pp. 24; 15c (U.S.A.)

**WITH THE MASTER:** Philippe Vernier; Fellowship Publications; pp. 80; 75c (U.S.A.)

These two pamphlets and the book are all published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in New York. The first named is the earliest in a series of study booklets issued to "encourage people who are not bound by the conventions and fears and superstitions of earlier generations to do some creative thinking and acting in this great task of building a new and better world." Later numbers are to consider problems of race, economics, propaganda, etc. This one analyzes the evils produced by war and graphically suggests methods of thinking through and outwitting them in the future.

*Outcasts*, profuse with photographic documentation, examines the fate and history of the Japanese-American minority group from Pearl Harbor on. It analyzes the reasons for the evacuation from the west coast and the part that blind prejudice was allowed to play, and notes the relative injustices done to persons of Japanese origin as compared to those of German stock. Relocation has apparently been fairly enough carried out, but the danger of continuing stigma or disfranchisement of U.S. citizens on the basis of race is indicated as all too likely unless public opinion (now led by various church groups) is successful in demanding human rights and justice to these unfortunate fellow-humans.

Vernier's meditations will be of interest and value to any readers who understand Biblical exegesis on the standard European pattern. The writer is apparently saying something profound, something born of his own rich life-pattern of rejoicing through suffering, but it all leaves the present reviewer strangely unmoved.

J. F. D.

**BASIC:** G. M. Young; Oxford (Clarendon Press, S.P.E. Tract 62); pp. 44; 45c.

This sounds like an erudite and competent commentary on Basic English by a writer for the Society for Pure English who is opposed to it. His point is that Basic English is not real English, and that the only people who can make it sound like real English are the people who already know real English, whereas others will simply fall back on the idiom of their native tongue and thereby make Basic unintelligible even as a code. He attacks, too, the elimination of the verb and the emphasis on nouns as a devitalizing of speech. The present reviewer, though his prejudices are with Mr. Young's and though he has read very little Basic English that did not sound like unimaginative pidgin, is incompetent to discuss the merits of the case beyond suggesting that the use of Basic has progressed so far that it has got rather beyond the hypothetical arguments of what it would or would not do and should now be examined on its actual record of accomplishment.

N. F.

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